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ACADIA

A LOST CHAPTER IN American History

BY PHILIP H. SMITH

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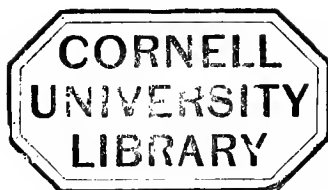
"The beloved Acadian land, the land of Evangeline." (Longfellow.)

"Let those who would persecute or proscribe for opinion's sake, and limit by political exclusion the right to worship God in the form by which he who worships, chooses; who would, if let alone, join in the hunt or exile of those who, like the Acadians, cherish the faith of their childhood and ancestors, let them read the story of the Acadian Exiles, and beware of the sure retribution of History." (Memoirs Penn. Hist. Society.)

PAWLING N. Y.
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR
1884

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P R E F A C E.

The story of *Evangeline*, from its tender pathos, its touching appeals to the deeper emotions of the soul, and the singularly romantic historical episode on which the poem is based, has ever been, to the writer of this volume, a work of interest. A longing to behold the land of those Acadian Exiles, "who had aforetime dwelt by the Basin of Minas," imperceptibly grew up, which was at length gratified: the memory of the brief sojourn in the "Acadian Land," will ever remain among his most highly treasured recollections.

Then came a desire to know more of that afflicted people, and of the facts attending their expulsion from the soil of their ancestors. The author was surprised that this chapter of American annals had been passed over in almost utter silence by nearly every American historian, and that the only books treating of the subject at any length, with a single exception, were a few old and rare volumes, many of which were scarcely to be had at any price, and none of them accessible to the general reader. This suggested the preparation of these pages to meet the demand of those who might, like himself, feel prompted to peruse the details of this sad passage in the world's history.

In accomplishing the task, the author wishes to state

that he has made free use of cotemporary history, not only as to facts, but likewise incorporating portions of the text, when such a course seemed preferable. Upwards of fifty authorities have been laid under contribution, and it is his own fault if some of the best portions in each have not been culled. To mention each of them by name would unnecessarily burden these pages, and he hopes this acknowledgment will be considered sufficient without a pedantic display of marginal notes.

The typographical work was done in a "country office," with a fifty-pound font of type and an old Liberty job press, the stereotyping being executed with home-made apparatus, after a process developed from personal experiment. The illustrations, also by himself, whatever may be their artistic worth, are believed to faithfully represent the subjects they are designed to elucidate, which, after all, must be admitted to be the prime and legitimate purpose of illustration. The author feels at liberty to make this statement out of justice to himself, inasmuch as the book must of necessity compete, in an overcrowded market, with other books that have not only received the careful manipulation of half a score of artisans, skilled in as many distinct trades, but also have engaged in their manufacture complicated machinery to the value of thousands of dollars.

Thus much touching the mechanical and literary execution of the work. As to the historical data given in the book, and the conclusions drawn therefrom, the author expects, and furthermore, cordially invites the most searching criticisms, as he is well aware the subject involves national pride and prejudice, and all are entitled to a hearing.

What he gives as facts are taken from what he believes to be reliable sources, and he has only stated his honest convictions, wherever the blame may fall.

Another departure is, the volume is put on the market without the imprint of an influential publishing house to give it currency among the people. The writer believes the subject to be one that will introduce the book, and prefers to control its sale himself; and trusts that the modesty of his pretensions will prompt the trade to extend a friendly hand.

Could he be assured that the reader, under whose eye this book may chance to fall, may derive as much enjoyment in its perusal as he has had in the collection of the materials and subsequent compilation, then the pen will be laid down with the feeling that the labor has not been performed in vain. And should it cause one sympathetic heart to pause in the midst of the bustle of the present and drop a tear of compassion to the memory of the poor exiles, now gone from earth and almost forgotten, then the recompense will be still greater.

With these explanations the volume is sent out into the world to buffet with the waves of competition and prejudice, to ride out the storm in safety, or be swallowed up as many a more meritorious book has been before.

Pawling, Feb. 1st, 1884.

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INTRODUCTION.

Where is Acadia?

It is not down on the maps. Like the simple and industrious yeomanry which comprised its inhabitants, its record is to be searched after in the dim annals of the past. Were it not that a poet has attuned its story to verse, and thereby caused thousands of hearts to throb with emotions of mingled pity and indignation, and so rendered it immortal, it might have remained in oblivion. Who has not heard of *Evangeline*? Her name is a household word over the civilized world, for the translations of the poem are legion, so well adapted is it to stir the deepest sentiments of the soul. To put the question differently, Where was Acadia?

When France first acquired dominion in the New World she gave to her newly acquired territory the beautiful name, *L'Acadie*, or in its anglicized form, Acadia. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, that power made over to the Queen of England all "Acadia comprised within its ancient boundaries." These territorial limits became afterward a great national question, the French claiming that Acadia comprised only the peninsula now known as Nova Scotia, while the English maintained it included the surrounding islands and much of the mainland now called New Brunswick. Great Britain had previously undertaken to establish a Scottish Barony in the same territory, giving to the country its present name of Nova Scotia, or New Scotland. It will an-

swer our purpose best to make these terms interchangeable in the succeeding chapters.

Nova Scotia is bounded on the northwest by New Brunswick and the Bay of Fundy, north by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Northumberland Straits, and on the other sides by the Atlantic. It has an area of 18,670 square miles, or about double that of the State of New Hampshire. The form of the peninsula has been compared to that of a mitten, the thumb being the isthmus joining it to New Brunswick. No part of Nova Scotia is more than thirty miles from the sea. A belt of rugged rocks stretches along the whole southern shore, and by the Bay of Fundy coast. The inland is rich in minerals, well-wooded, and in many parts, exceedingly fertile.

That long line of rocky coast forming the southern boundary of Nova Scotia is not unfrequently broken into shapes of picturesque boldness. Sometimes the rocks erect a dark and perpendicular wall, against which the storms of the Atlantic have beaten for ages. At other times, the ocean, penetrating far inland, forms interior seas, around which cluster the cabins of the fishermen, each with its fish-flakes and its fishing boat moored near at hand. These bays resemble in their general features the Norwegian fjords, and give food and occupation to the peasantry; and except when agitated by storms, suggest naught but fertility and peace.

There comes a change when the tempest breaks over the sea, and the billows dash impetuously among the shoals. The stoutest heart shrinks in awe at the display of Divine power, and happy is the bark that can find a safe harbor when old Ocean is once fully roused. The landsman shudders as the gun comes booming over the water from the vessel in distress, calling for the help that too often is unavailable; and when morning breaks, and the storm has passed, naught but a broken hull and a few shattered spars are left to tell the tale. Notwithstanding that lighthouses shed their



“Naught but a broken hull and a few shattered spars are left to tell the tale.”—Page 12.

friendly beams from every jutting headland; and sirens, bell boats, fog trumpets and whistling buoys warn the anxious sailor when the fogs hide the lights, and life-boats, manned by sturdy arms, are ready to brave the dangers of the deep to aid the shipwrecked mariner;—in short, after all that human skill can devise, or humanity suggest, for lessening the dangers to shipping, these iron-bound coasts and their insatiate shoals continue to demand and receive many a holocaust of human victims.

But little is known of Nova Scotia by the average American, and that little is closely associated with ideas of a sinister kind. "Ought to be banished to Nova Scotia!" "Wish it was in Halifax!" are mild forms of anathemas to which we have been accustomed from childhood. But this territory has a just claim on the heart of every citizen of our republic.

Hundreds of brave New Englanders lie sleeping beneath the greensward on Point Rochfort, beneath the once frowning battlements of Louisbourg, who lost their lives in the early struggles for the possession of that fortress. The Acadian seas are literally strewn with the wrecks of vessels sent out from New England ports, the fate of whose crews will never be revealed until the sea yields up its dead. The shores of Bedford Basin are hallowed to the memory as the sepulchre of many a Revolutionary hero, who perished there in captivity. It has a place in history as the refuge of thousands of American Loyalists, who were there given new homes by the King in whose interest they suffered banishment. We have already referred to the expatriated Acadians, who were violently torn from thence, and scattered throughout the English colonies on the Continent. It is also the domain of the fisheries, which subject has long been a question of national issue between the two great powers of England and the United States, and which is soon to come before the people for further adjudication or arbitra-

ment. It seems almost incredible that the citizens of our country should manifest so little interest in a land whose varying fortunes have ever been so closely associated with our own.

It is emphatically a land of romance. The annals of the early adventurers need not the gilding of fiction to invest them with interest. Its history is made up of bloody strife, startling events, and singular experiences. It has been the scene of military victories by sea and land which have illuminated, in turn, the cities of France, England, and the United States; and its soil has drank some of the noblest blood of those great nations. It is here that the demon of religious intolerance has been most rampant, and fratricidal war exerted its most baneful influence. Here, too, particularly in remote French settlements, superstition holds powerful sway. The headlands of the coast are haunted with the lost spirits of the victims of the numberless wrecks strewn among the rocks; weird lights flicker about the seas on wild and stormy nights; strange voices inhabit the air, and foreboding signs appear in the sky; while the spectral *feux-follets*, and the dreaded *loups-garous*, prowl about the country on the watch for souls. It is here that the passion for the finding of hidden treasures has the strongest hold on the people;—the fact that the French Neutrals buried much of their treasure at their extirpation, being a predisposing cause.

In marked contrast are the works of Nature as disclosed in this corner of the world. In the proper season, one may ride for fifty miles in the Annapolis Valley under the continuous shade of apple orchards in full bloom. No lovelier spot is there in the wide world, no happier blending of water, plain and mountain, than at Grand Pré, on the shores of the Basin of Minas. And yet, within a few hours' ride, are the waters wherein the current from the Gulf of Mexico and the flow from the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, im-

pinge their momentous floods against each other; where the iceberg rocks in the waves, and the sea-fog hangs over the deep, imperilling the navigation, and sending many a weary mariner to his long home.

The tides, which here surpass those of any other quarter of the globe, are among the most wonderful features of Nature's exhibit. Says a writer: "At the head of Cobequid Bay, the flood-tide is preceded by an immense tidal wave, or 'bore,' which, at spring tides, is sometimes six feet high. At low water, nearly sixty square miles of sand, shingle and mud flats are laid bare; the flood rises more rapidly than the water can advance, and the result is the formation of a splendid wave more than four miles long, which rolls over the flats and quicksands in a sheet of foam, and with the roar of thunder, washing away, or burying up everything before it. Vessels lying with their broadsides to the bore are rolled over,—their masts are broken, and they are left half buried in the shingle: the skill of the pilot is, however, equal to this danger, and accidents seldom occur."

It may be said, that few places offer greater inducements to the summer tourist or to the sportsman, than do the seas and mountains of this Acadian land. The woods are full of game, and the waters abound in fish; one may traverse in boats, almost every portion of the country; and the place has only to be better known to attract the thousands of rest-seekers from abroad.

In the present work no pretensions are made to a full and exhaustive treatise of the subject. It is believed, however, that the more salient points have been touched upon, and sufficient given to shed light on a subject that has long remained in obscurity. Though the scope includes the entire period succeeding the discovery of Acadia, the expulsion of the French Neutrals is designedly made a leading feature of the volume. In this, as in the other portions, the author has drawn his materials from the most reliable sources.

Haliburton, a standard authority in Nova Scotia, referring to the absence from the public records of that Province, of the official documents covering the period of the forced extirpation of these people, gives it as his belief that they have been purposely abstracted, with the view to cover up the traces of the deed; and he wrote more than half a century ago. Since then the records have been filled up by copies obtained from the state paper office in England, and from those at Quebec, primarily obtained from the archives at Paris. Of these the author has availed himself in the present compilation. Extracts are given originally procured from Winslow's letter book; the journals of the Colonial Assemblies, and other trustworthy sources, have likewise been freely utilized. The papers of the French Neutrals having been forcibly taken from them, they cannot be heard in their own behalf, except as they have told the story of their sufferings in two memorials, one to the King of Great Britain, and the other to the Pennsylvania Assembly, copies of which may be found in the Appendix of this volume. The reader can compare the declarations therein contained with the accounts taken from English sources given in the body of the work, and then, in the light of all these facts, judge for himself whether the despoiling of fifteen thousand pastoral people of their farms and firesides, and the dispersion of most of them in indigence among a people aliens in language and religion, was "a justifiable and necessary measure."

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

To the lover of romance as well as to the student of veritable history, no quarter of the world is more rich in interest than ACADIA—a land which has been poetically immortalized as “The Land of Evangeline.” Whether we turn to the misty era of the early “Sea Rovers of the North,” the records of whose voyages seem like quaint, legendary tales, or to the later historical epoch, when the virgin soil was enriched with the blood of so-called civilized nations in their eager strife for its possession; or whether we contemplate the stern and pitiless aspect of Nature as exhibited in the war of the elements raging in fierce grandeur about the rock-bound coasts, or survey her in her milder moods as displayed in sunny seas and glowing landscapes,—in all there is that which holds the student spell-bound to the story of this enchanted land.

Previous to the discoveries of Columbus, the country beyond the trackless sea was a fruitful theme of visionary speculation and traditionary tale. Plato’s imaginary island of Atlantis opposite the Straits of Gibraltar, was by many believed to actually exist. Much was said and written of the fabulous Island of St. Brandan,* which for a long while

*The inhabitants of the Canaries fancied they beheld a mountainous island lying far to the westward, visible only at intervals and in perfectly serene weather. They sent several expeditions, but every attempt to

haunted the imaginations of the people of the Canaries; and even the speculative "Island of Seven Cities"† was given a place on the charts of the learned geographers of the time.

That the Norse mariners visited parts of Acadia centuries before the era of Columbus' discoveries, is a fact well authenticated. Original manuscripts of the voyages of these Sea-Vikings have been carefully preserved in Iceland. They were first published at Copenhagen in 1837, with a Danish and a Latin translation. Within the whole range of the literature of discovery and adventure, no writings can be found that bear better evidence of authenticity.

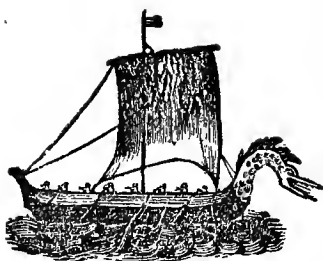
reach it proved futile. Still so many had testified to seeing it, and so nearly did their testimony agree as to its form and position, that its existence was believed in, and it was put down on their maps. Traditions were told of some tempest-tossed mariners having at one time landed upon the island, but were forced to return to their ship by reason of a "harsh wind which arose;" in an instant they lost sight of the land, and could not again find it, nor did they afterwards hear of the two sailors that had been abandoned in the woods. On another occasion it was said a vessel touched at this mysterious island, and anchored in a beautiful harbor at the mouth of a mountain ravine. A number of sailors landed and wandered about in various directions. Seeing night approaching, those on board signalled for their return to the ship; scarcely were they on board when a whirlwind came down the ravine with such violence as to carry the vessel out to sea. They never saw more of this inhospitable island.

† A popular tradition concerning the ocean, in which seven bishops fleeing from Spain at the time of the Moorish conquest, landed on an unknown island in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean, burnt their ships to prevent the desertion of their followers, and abandoned themselves to their fate. Here they founded seven cities. According to common report some sea-faring men presented themselves before King Henry, of Portugal, stating they had landed upon this island, the dust of which they found to be one-half gold—hoping to secure a reward for their intelligence. They were ordered to return immediately and procure further information, but the seamen, fearing their falsehood would be discovered, made their escape, and nothing more was heard of them.

In the year 861, Iceland was discovered by a Norse Rover named Nadodd, and soon became a place of great interest; in two or three centuries we find its people had become eminent among the Norse communities for their intellectual culture, and for their daring and skill in navigation.

"Eirek the Red" occupied a prominent place as one of the early mariners. The Norse narrative introduces Eirek's voyage of discovery as follows: "There was a man of noble family named Thorwald. He and his son Eirek, surnamed the Red, were obliged to flee from Jadir (in the south-west part of Norway), because, in some feud which arose, they committed a homicide. They went to Iceland, which at that time was colonized." Thorwald died soon after, and the restless spirit of Eirek at length involving him in another feud in Iceland, he was a second time guilty of taking the life of a fellow being. The narrative continues: "Having been condemned by the court, he resolved to leave Iceland. His vessel being prepared, and everything in readiness, Eirek's partisans in the quarrel accompanied him some distance. He told them he was going in search of the land Gunniborn had seen when driven by a storm into the Western Ocean, promising to return if his search proved successful. Embarking from the western side of Iceland, Eirek steered boldly for the west. At length he saw land, and called the place Midjokul. Then coasting along the shore in a southerly direction, he sought a place more suitable for settlement. He spent the winter on a part of the coast which he named 'Eirek's Island.' A satisfactory situation for his colony having been found, he remained there two years." The country discovered and colonized by Eirek was Greenland.

Eirek returned to Iceland, and as a result of his representations of the newly discovered country, "twenty-five ships," filled with emigrants and stores, returned with him to Greenland. This happened, says the chronicle, "fifteen



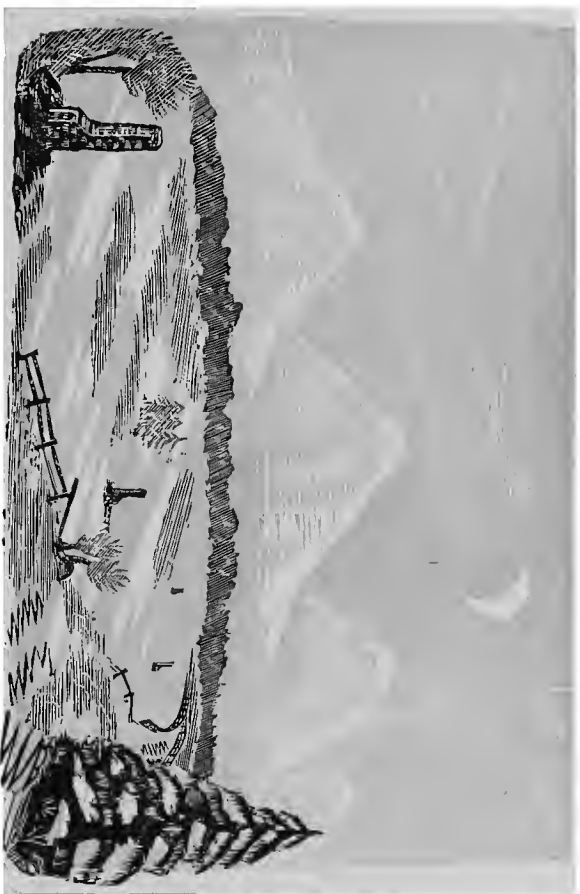
NORMAN SHIP

years before the Christian religion was introduced into Iceland," or fifteen years previous to 1000 A. D. Biarni, a chief man among these colonists, was absent in Norway when they sailed from Iceland. On his return he decided to follow and join the colony; and although neither he nor his companions had ever seen Greenland, or sailed the Greenland Sea, he boldly embarked, and made one of the most remarkable and fearful voyages on record. It must be borne in mind that the "ship" of those early times, with its quaint proportions and "dragon prow," was so unseaworthy, that, in this day of advanced nautical skill, it would be deemed an act of sheer madness to essay an ocean voyage in so frail a vessel.

On leaving Iceland they sailed three days with a fair wind; then arose a storm of northeasterly winds, accompanied by very cloudy thick weather. For many days they were driven before this storm, into trackless and unknown waters. At length the weather cleared, and they could see the sky.— They sailed west another day, and saw land, different from any they had formerly known, for it "was not very mountainous." Biarni said this could not be Greenland. They put about and steered in a northeasterly direction two days more. Again they saw land which was low and level. Biarni thought this could not be Greenland. For three more days they sailed in the same direction, and came to a land that was "mountainous, and covered with ice." This proved to be an island around



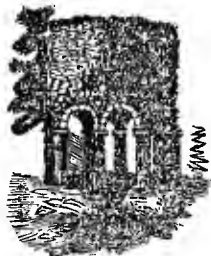
NORSEMAN



“The blackened ruins of their habitations disfigured the landscape on every hand.”—Page 21



which they sailed. Steering north they sailed four days, and again discovered land, which proved to be Greenland. They were on the southern coast near the new settlement. It is manifest that the first land Biarni saw was Cape Cod;* the next was the northern part of Nova Scotia; and the island around which they coasted was Newfoundland. This voyage was made five hundred years earlier than the first voyage of Columbus.



OLD TOWER

The period of these adventures was during the dark ages, at a time when ignorance and superstition brooded over the world like the demon of night. But little was known among the nations of Europe of the voyages of the Norsemen; and that little seems to have been regarded as "dim, traditionary tales of old Sea-Kings," and only served to deepen a sense of the mystery of the great unknown beyond the sea.

Centuries passed away. Gradually the light of intelligence began to be shed abroad among the benighted nations. Slowly but surely the world was being prepared for a great event which the guiding hand of Providence was now to bring about.

On the 4th of March, 1493, a vessel sought shelter in the port of Lisbon. Her coming was unheralded; her seamen were weary and weather-worn; her sails had suffered the strain and shock of fierce tempests; yet that frail, leaky bark was the bearer of tidings that were to work great social and political changes among the nations of the earth.—

* These early Navigators gave the country they had discovered the name of "Helluland." They are supposed to have erected the old round tower at Newport. Certain it is the Indians had no tradition of its origin when the whites first came among them.

It was the caravel of Columbus, returned from his first voyage of discovery.

The triumphal reception of Columbus by the sovereigns under whose patronage he had sailed, and the agitation produced throughout Europe by the report of his discoveries, are facts in history too well known to need repetition here. Learned men, appreciating what was sure to follow, "exulted over the fact they were living in an age marked by such an event as the discovery of a New World." Kings and Emperors, anxious to extend their power, or to add to their wealth, became eager patrons of explorers; daring adventurers, anxious to distinguish themselves by some important discovery, or seeking to open up some channel of sudden wealth, undertook expeditions into unknown seas; while not a few, assuming a more religious view of the matter, went among the newly discovered people for the purpose of converting them to the Christian religion. For upwards of half a century the minds of kings and subjects were occupied with this all-absorbing topic. And now the "vaunted wisdom of antiquity began to pale as the light of discovery broke in upon them," scattering to the winds their learned theories and hypotheses of the wide waste of waters. Says Humboldt—"The fifteenth century forms a transition epoch, belonging at once to the middle ages and to the commencement of modern times. It is the epoch of the greatest discoveries in geographical space; and to the inhabitants of Europe it doubled the works of creation, while it offered to the intellect new and powerful incitements to the improvement of the natural sciences."

Men of broken fortunes, and restless spirits of every class, could now find employment befitting their ambition. Not since the crusades had an event been so opportune.—The golden lure was held out to them, and many clutched at the proffered bait. The love of conquest became a ruling passion:—Cortez, a soldier of inferior rank, suddenly

found himself fired with an ambition which required the blood of a million of native Mexicans to satisfy. Surely it was an unlucky day for the races of the new world when the eye of Europeans first opened upon it.

As the vast wealth and resources of the newly-discovered land came to be better known, bitter rivalries sprang up between the European powers for its possession. The religious dissensions then raging throughout Christendom added fuel to the fires of national discord and jealousy. It was under these conditions of political and civil commotion that the ACADIA of American History had its birth; and as it not unfrequently happens in medical practice, the pain is experienced in one part, while the disease that causes the pain is to be sought for elsewhere, so we may read, in the sufferings of hapless, helpless Acadia, the varied changes in the political phases of the Old World.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

THE CABOTS.

A few years subsequent to the first voyage of Columbus, the Cabots were taking a prominent part in nautical achievements. They were natives of Venice, and of renowned skill in maritime pursuits. They sailed under British colors, and were duly authorized, as their commission read, "to discover and possess the isles, regions, and provinces, of the heathen and infidels." In the spring of 1498, the ship *Matthew*, in company with three or four smaller vessels, all displaying the proud flag of England, left Bristol and steered westward. They bore John Cabot and his son Sebastian, who, with their followers were essaying the passage of the North Atlantic. On the 24th of June they discovered the main land of America, which they named *Prima Vista*.—The same day they saw an island opposite, which they called St. John, from the day of discovery. Here they found the inhabitants clothed with skins, and they fought with darts, bows and arrows: three of these natives they carried off to England. But meagre records of the voyage have been handed down, yet there are good reasons for supposing the lands discovered to be the main land of Labrador, and the island of Newfoundland. They describe the country as sterile and uncultivated, with no fruit. White bears, and stags of unusual height, were numerous. The waters were full of fish, especially of the kind called by the natives *bacalleos*, which poetical name has since degenerated into sim-

ple "cod." Proceeding northward they encountered those terrors to navigators of northern waters—icebergs. Becoming alarmed, they turned helm, and coasted southward as far as Florida. The voyages of the Cabots gave to Great Britain her claim to the New World.

GASPAR DE CORTEAL.

Two years later [1500] Gaspar de Cortéal, a Portuguese navigator, sailing from the port of Lisbon, touched at the coast of Labrador, which he named *Terre Verde*. He surpassed the English in disregarding the rights of the aborigines—capturing fifty-seven of them, which he afterward sold as slaves in Europe. The country from whence these unfortunates were taken is described as abounding in immense pines, fit for masts, which would prove the land could not have been far to the north. It was thickly peopled; the natives used hatchets and arrowheads of stone; they lived in rudely constructed huts, were clad with the skins of wild animals, and were a well-made and robust race. This description might well apply to the Indians of Acadia. Encouraged by the success attending his first undertaking, Cortéal set out in the following year for another cargo of timber and slaves. But neither himself nor any of his crew were ever heard of more. His brother Michael de Cortéal fitted out two ships and went in search of him, and he, too, shared the fate of his relative. "The avenging spirit overwhelmed them on the trackless deep, and they were never permitted to again see the shores they had polluted with the curse of human traffic."

VERAZZANI.

Nearly a quarter of a century elapsed when the King of France determined on sending an expedition to discover new worlds for him, imitating the example of the crowned heads of England, Spain, and Portugal, who, during this

time, had been adding to their possessions "by right of discovery." Disregardful of the authority of Pope Alexander to bestow all newly-discovered lands on Spain and Portugal, the French monarch fitted out the ship, *Dolphin*, with a crew of fifty men and provisions for eight months, and sent it under command of Verazzani on the 17th of January, 1524. The expedition touched at North Carolina, sailed northward as far as the 50th degree of north latitude—or that of Newfoundland,—and gave to the country its third appellation—"New France." Verazzani made a subsequent voyage from which he never returned. Of his fate nothing certain is known; but there is an old French tradition to the effect that he landed near the present town of Cape Breton, on the island of that name, and attempted to found a fortified settlement. But being suddenly attacked and overpowered by the Indians, himself and his entire command were put to death in a cruel manner. Says Bancroft—"Verazzani advanced the knowledge of the country, and gave to France some claim to an extensive territory on the pretext of discovery."

Previous to the expedition of Verazzani, France appears to have taken little national interest in the New World.—Hitherto every French vessel that had visited America came on a commercial errand only, and the trade of that people in the foreign products of fish and peltries was considerable. We may except the instance of Baron de Léry, who, in 1518, attempted to found a settlement under French patronage in Acadia. The Baron was a man of courage and lofty aspirations: with a company of colonists, and stores necessary to commence life in a new country, he embarked in the enterprise; but unfavorable weather, and other adverse incidents, caused the project to miscarry.

With the last expedition of Verazzani, French interest in America again declined. For a number of years that war-

harrassed people had enough to occupy their attention at home. At length the advisers of the French King urged upon him the advantages of founding a colony in America, and suggested that the most appropriate place to colonize would be the nearest northeastern region, inasmuch as native Basque and Norman barks had for twenty years frequented Acadian waters in quest of fish. An expedition was determined on, a knowledge of which coming to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, those potentates entered a protest against it as an encroachment on their territorial rights. The French King answered sarcastically, "I should like to see that clause in Adam's will that gives to them alone so vast an inheritance!" The grand admiral of France gave command of the expedition to Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, a reputed skillful mariner and hardy seaman.

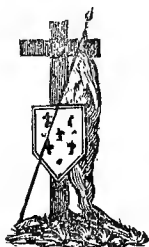
Cartier sailed from St. Malo, a seaport of Brittany, in the spring of 1534, with two vessels, neither of which exceeded sixty tons burden, and whose united crews amounted to but one hundred and twenty-two men. During this his first voyage, Cartier made no important discoveries. The more salient points of the Laurentian Gulf were already well known to his countrymen, who habitually fished in these waters; but he was the first to carefully examine the "arid and desolate sea-margin of Labrador." He came up the Newfoundland coast, and entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence by the Strait of Bellisle.

Skirting along the western coast of Newfoundland as far as Cape St. George, he then sailed northwest, and on the 30th of June came in sight of the coast of Acadia. The first land seen by Cartier is now known as Point Escuminac.—Cartier thus records his impressions: "We went that day ashore in four places to see the goodly and sweet-smelling trees that were there. We found them to be cedars, ewe-trees, pines, white elms, ashes, willows, with many sorts of trees to us unknown, but without any fruit. The grounds

where no wood is are very fair and all full of peason, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, blackberries, and wild corn like unto rye, which seemeth to have been sown and plowed. The country is of better temperature than other that can be seen, and very hot. There are many thrushes, stock-doves, and other birds; in short, there wanteth nothing but good harbors."

He says of Newfoundland: "If the soil were as good as the harbors are it were a great commodity, but it is not to be called New Land, but stones and wild crags, and a place fit for wild beasts, for in all the North Island I did not see a cart load of good earth. Yet I went on shore in many places. In short, I believe this is the land God allotted to Cain."

Cartier entered a spacious basin which he named Bay of Chaleurs, on account of the extreme heat at the time.—Landing on its coast he took formal possession of the ter-



ARMS OF FRANCE

ritory in the name of the French King [Francis I], setting up a cross thirty feet high and suspending thereon a shield bearing the *fleur-de-lis*, and an inscription, as emblematic of the new sovereignty of France in America. This typical act of incorporating the territory into the empire of France was ingeniously performed so as to appear to the natives as a religious ceremony. The old chief seems to have had his suspicions aroused that something more than worship was intended, and visited the ship to remonstrate with Cartier. He was assured that the cross was erected merely to serve as a landmark to guide the white visitors to the entrance of the harbor on their next voyage. On leaving the shores of the Gaspé, as this land was called by the Indians, Cartier carried off two sons of the chief, whom he decoyed on board. As the season was now far advanced,

he determined on returning to France, and set sail in time to avoid the autumnal storms which yearly visit the coast.

The favorable report given by Cartier encouraged the French to further attempts; accordingly another expedition was fitted up and placed under his command. Conforming to the prevailing custom of the day, Cartier repaired with his men in solemn procession to the cathedral of St. Malo, where the blessing of Heaven was invoked in aid of their enterprise. This religious service concluded, and the farewells spoken, for his crews were mainly composed of the husbands and sons of St. Malo, they repaired to the ships. The squadron, consisting of three vessels, having on board 110 hands and provisions for three months, departed with a favoring breeze from the port of St. Malo in May, 1535. Cartier, as Captain General, hoisted his pennant on the *Le Grande Hermine*, a vessel of little more than 100 tons burden. Several persons of gentle blood accompanied the expedition as volunteers. Unfavorable weather was soon experienced; the passage proved tedious, and adverse winds separated the vessels. Cartier had provided for this emergency by appointing a rendezvous on an island between Labrador and Newfoundland, which they all at length reached safely.

After a brief season of rest, they put to sea. Sailing about among the numerous islands, on St. Lawrence day they "entered the bay forming the embouchure of the noble river now bearing that name." This stream for a portion of its course at the mouth, has a wild and saddening aspect. The numerous rocky points obstructing its course, the dense fogs, the furious blasts that ply over its bosom, the eddying and whirling of the tides among the numerous islets, are well calculated to appal the spirit of the voyageur. Passing up the river, the adventurers entered the deep and gloomy Saguenay,* but were prevented from ex-

* The Saguenay is not properly a river. It is a tremendous chasm,

ploring it by the lateness of the season. Early in September they reached an island abounding in hazel bushes, to which in consequence they gave the name *Isle aux Cou-dres*. The river, "so vast and sombre in its lower expanse, now became a graceful and silvery stream."

Cartier began to look about him for a good harbor in which to pass the winter, and decided upon one at the mouth of the river now known as the St. Charles. Close at hand was the Huron town of Stadacona. This Indian village was situated on a high bluff which projected far into the river, and so narrowed its passage that it was forced into a rapid current. To this passage the Indians had given the name of Kepec, which name, slightly modified, has since been bestowed on a more pretentious modern city that has sprung up on the site of the Indian town, a city that has become illustrious in the history of the American Continent.

"Quebec needs not the gilding of romance to invest it with interest. The rock upon which it stands will not be more enduring than the fame of the achievements that have been there enacted. Where stood the fragile huts of the simple Algonquins, there have arisen parapeted walls, bat-

cleft for sixty miles through the heart of a mountain wilderness. Every thing is hard, naked, stern, silent. Dark gray cliffs rise from the pitch-black water; firs of gloomy green are rooted in their crevices and fringe their summits; loftier ranges of a dull indigo hue show themselves in the background, and over all bends a pale, northern sky. The water beneath us was black as night, and the only life in all that savage solitude was, now and then, the back of a white porpoise, in some of the deeper coves. The river is a reproduction of the fiords of the Norwegian coast.

(Bayard Taylor.)

Sunlight and clear sky are out of place over its black waters. Any thing which recalls the life and smile of nature is not in unison with the huge, naked cliffs, raw, cold and silent as the tombs. It is with a sense of relief that the tourist emerges from its sullen gloom, and look back upon it as a kind of vault,—Nature's sarcophagus, where life or sound seems never to have entered. (London Times.)

lements and fortifications,—emblems of military prowess. For a century and a half this was the seat of the capital of the French Empire in America, whose authority extended from the stern and rocky coasts of Labrador to the delta at the mouth of the Mississippi. Its name has been ominous of bloodshed; and it has successively been the scene of triumphs which illuminated every city in the great nations of United States, Great Britain and France. From it bloody edicts went forth which gave over the border settlements of New England into the hands of the merciless savage, and his still more merciless white-coadjutor, and which shrouded her villages in mourning. On this barren rock was achieved the famous victory which gave the vast territory of Canada† to the British crown.”

Cartier still pushed on, impatient to reach Hochelaga, the site of the present city of Montreal. He found there an Indian town of about fifty wooden dwellings, begirt with a triple enclosure of a circular form, and palisaded. He requested to be taken to a mountain top a mile distant; enchanted with the view from this lofty peak, he gave to the hill itself the name Mount Royal,—words which have since been modified into Montreal, and become the appellation of the fair city on its southern declivity. The squadron returned down the river and occupied the place selected for winter quarters. Scurvy broke out among the company; the cold became intense, and increased day by day; out of more than one hundred men composing the three vessels' crews, for some time not more than three or four men were free from disease. Too weak to open a grave for the dead the survivors yet able to crawl about deposited the bodies under the snow. At length, after twenty-five of their number had perished, and when most of the others were appar-

†The natives intimated to Cartier of a collection of wigwams further up stream which was called Kannata, from which word the country probably derived its name.

ently at death's door, a native told them of a remedy which was resorted to with the effect of curing every ailing Frenchman within a few days. When spring returned, Cartier set sail for France, signaling his leave-taking by an act of treachery. Inviting the King and three or four of the principal chiefs on board, he imprisoned them and carried them to France. The lamentations of the Indians were of no avail, and none of the expatriated savages ever saw their native soil again.

While he was still at Quebec a number of London merchants sent out two vessels on a trading voyage to the coast of America. They spent some time in Acadian waters, but found the natives so shy that they were unable to trade with them. Coming short of provisions, they for a time subsisted on herbs and roots; at last they were reduced to the extremity of casting lots to see who should die to afford sustenance for the remainder. At this critical moment a French vessel appeared, laden with provisions. This they immediately seized, and appropriating its cargo, thus provided for their wants. France and England being then at peace, the Frenchmen complained of the outrage to the English sovereign, Henry VIII. The King, on learning the great straits to which his countrymen had been reduced, forgave them the offense, and generously compensated the Frenchmen out of his own private purse. The failure of Cartier to discover gold (that great desideratum), and the sufferings his men had undergone, together with the moment in which he found his native country on account of religious dissensions, caused the project of colonizing the new world to be temporarily abandoned. The very existence of Canada seems to have been ignored.

Not until the year 1541 was public attention again turned toward Acadia. The anticipated profits of the traffic in peltry and the fisheries were sufficient to induce many to brave the dangers of the deep and the rigors of a northern winter;

accordingly in that year another expedition was prepared by King Francis, who bestowed the chief command on Roberval, making him his lieutenant and viceroy in Canada. Cartier was appointed Captain-General of the fleet. The latter without waiting for his superior who was detained, set out with five ships early in the summer of 1541; ascending the St. Lawrence he cast anchor at Quebec which he had left five years previously. Notwithstanding his act of treachery toward the natives, he was allowed to remain in peace through the winter; but in the spring, their manner being changed, he knew they only waited an opportunity to attack him, and he embarked his colonists to return home. He set sail for France at the same time Roberval was leaving there with three ships, with two hundred colonists on board. Roberval had been prevented from joining Cartier the year before. The two squadrons met at St. Johns, Newfoundland. Cartier was commanded by his superior to return with him to Canada: but he, having had enough of Canada experience, weighed anchor under cover of night and departed for France. Roberval proceeded to Canada, took possession of Cartier's forts, and there spent the winter, having first dispatched two vessels to France, to inform the King of his arrival, and requesting that provisions be sent him the next year. The scurvy broke out, and not having the remedy used by Cartier, fifty of the colonists died before spring.

The chronicle informs us, that during the winter "one man was hanged for theft, several others were put in irons, and many were whipped, by which means they lived in quiet." The next spring Roberval made an exploration into the interior, during which one of his vessels sunk and eight of his men were drowned. During the summer he returned to France with what remained of his colony. In 1549 Roberval organized another expedition, and again set sail for Canada, accompanied by his brother Achille and a band

of brave adventurers. Their fate is one of the secrets of the sea. Canada had reason to lament the event, for the loss of that expedition retarded the settlement of the country for more than half a century.



ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION.

For a period of about forty years succeeding the ill-starred expedition of Roberval, the colonization of Acadia was not attempted. This period was fully occupied by the various European powers in conflicts with each other, and in the more sanguinary domestic wars of religion.

It must not be supposed there was no intercourse during this period between the old world and the new. The Normans, the Gasques, the Bretons and others, "continued to fish for cod, and join in the pursuit of whales that frequented the embouchure of the St. Lawrence and the neighboring waters." In 1578, one hundred and fifty-seven French vessels repaired to Newfoundland alone, in addition to the vessels of other nationalities. These hardy fishermen were continually widening the limits of navigation. Another important branch of industry, the traffic in peltries, began to grow up, and proved to be nearly as profitable as the deep-sea fishing. Their vessels ascended the St. Lawrence, and dotted the picturesque rivers and bays of Acadia. But these expeditions were planned and executed by private enterprise, and therefore possessed none of the interest and importance of national ventures.

England was the first to break this period of inaction. She came late into the field, yet it was her province, in the end, to eclipse all others in the race for territory in the new world. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, brother of Sir

Walter Raleigh, set out to found a colony under British patronage, with a fleet of five vessels. Two hundred and sixty men accompanied the expedition, including many carpenters, shipwrights, masons and blacksmiths. Nothing seems to have been omitted that was thought necessary to the success of the enterprise.

The little fleet had been but two days at sea, when the largest vessel turned back on account of a contagious disease which had broken out among its crew.* After a foggy and disagreeable passage, the remainder of the fleet reached Newfoundland in safety toward the close of July. The first sight of this desolate coast,—a bleak stretch of lofty rock looming through a dense fog—was disheartening to the storm-tossed mariners. They soon reached the harbor of St John, where they were charmed with the fresh green foliage, bright flowers, and an abundance of berry-bearing bushes. Here they found thirty-six ships of various nations, with whom they exchanged civilities. Gilbert at once landed and took formal possession in the name of the Queen, amid a salvo of ordnance from the shipping in the harbor. The summer was spent in examining the creeks and bays, noting the soundings, and surveying the coasts at great risk of destruction. Evidences of rich mineral deposits were found, which contributed much to the satisfaction of the crew. One night toward the close of August, there were signs of an approaching storm. It was afterward remembered, that “like the swan that singeth before her death, they in the *Delight* continued in the sounding of drums and trumpets and fifes, also the winding of cornets and hautboys, and in the end of their jollity, left with the battell, and the ringing of doleful bells.” Soon after, the storm broke upon them. The *Delight*, the largest of the vessels, struck and went down among the breakers off

*Some say it was a case of desertion.

Cape Breton, in full view of the others, who were unable to render any help. A large store of provisions, and Gilbert's papers, were lost. The *Golden Hind* and the *Squirrel* narrowly escaped, and were now left alone. The weather continued boisterous: the rigors of winter had set in early; provisions ran short; and Gilbert found himself with no alternative but to abandon his explorations and return to England. But he spoke hopefully of future expeditions to Newfoundland, and did his best to cheer the drooping spirits of his men. Gilbert shifted his flag to the *Squirrel*, a mere boat of ten tons burden, against the entreaties of those in the other vessel. Shortly after, the sky became dark and threatening. The sailors declared they heard strange voices in the air, and beheld fearful shapes flitting around the ships. When in Mid-Atlantic a severe gale arose, and destruction appeared inevitable. The *Squirrel* labored heavily, and several times in the afternoon of the 9th September, was near cast away. Gilbert, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, as often as the *Golden Hind* came within hearing, cried out—"We are as near Heaven by sea as by land!" At midnight the lights of the *Squirrel* went out:—the elements had swallowed up both her and her hapless crew. The *Golden Hind* survived the storm, and bore the tidings of the disastrous fate of the expedition to England.

At length, France having obtained a respite from her exhaustive wars, and her King [Henry IV] firmly established on his throne, the spirit of adventure began to revive, and attention was again directed to the New World. The strong arm of the government was no doubt called in requisition the sooner on account of difficulties between rival traders, who carried their animosities so far as to burn each other's barges or coasting vessels. The nephews of Cartier, believing that they were entitled to some consideration on account of the services of their illustrious relative, asked

for a renewal of the privilege accorded to him. Letters patent were granted them in 1588; but as soon as the merchants of St. Malo were apprised of this, which amounted to a prohibition on all other traders, they lodged an appeal before the privy council, and obtained a revocation of the grant. This did not serve their purpose, however, for a third competitor arose, in the person of the Marquis de La Roche, who obtained a royal confirmation of himself as "lieutenant-general," or viceroy of Canada, Acadia and the lands adjoining. The Marquis was authorized to impress any ships or any mariner in the ports of France, that he might think needful for his expedition: he was empowered to levy troops, declare war, build towns, promulgate laws and execute them, to concede lands with feudal privileges, and regulate colonial trade at discretion. No trader, therefore, dare set up against this monopoly.

La Roche set sail in that year taking with him forty-eight convicts from the French prisons. Fearing that his people might desert him, he landed them on Sable Island, a barren sand-bank one hundred and twenty miles to the south and east of Nova Scotia, while he went to find a suitable place for a settlement. He visited Acadia and was returning for his colonists when he was caught in a tempest, and was driven before it, in ten or twelve days' time, to the French coast. Scarcely had he set his foot in France when he was thrown into prison, and not until five years afterward was he able to apprise the King of the result of his voyage. King Henry, compassionating the condition of the unfortunates on Sable Island, dispatched the pilot of La Roche to learn their fate. That island which is of crescent-like configuration, arid and of rude aspect, bears no trees nor fruit; its only vegetation is sea-matweed, growing around a lake in the centre, and in places along the shore. When the pilot arrived he found their condition truly deplorable. Of the whole band, forty-eight in number, only

twelve remained. Left to their own discretion they became utterly lawless; evil passions being in the ascendant, each man's hand was turned against his neighbor, and many were horribly murdered. Ill-supplied bodily wants will tame the fiercest passions; and the surviving few had latterly led a more tranquil life. A vessel had been wrecked on the breakers abounding on the shores of the desolate isle; of the wood that had driven ashore they had constructed huts. Their food had consisted chiefly of the flesh of a few domestic animals which they had found on the island, of a species that had probably been left there by Baron de Léry more than eighty years before. Their clothing was composed of the skins of seals they had captured. The King desired to have them presented before him accoutred just as they had been found. Their hair and beard was in wild disorder, and their countenances had assumed an expression unlike that of civilized man. The King so commiserated their condition that he gave each fifty crowns, and promised oblivion to all the evil deeds they had committed aforetime. La Roche, who had embarked his whole fortune in the enterprise, lost the whole of it in succeeding misfortunes through its instrumentality, and died of a broken heart.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

We are now arrived at a period we may designate as the permanent colonization of Acadia. Settlements had been established in Florida for nearly a quarter of a century, and blood had already been shed for possession of that territory; Holland had founded the New Netherlands; England had established a foothold in Jamestown; France had directed her attention toward Canada and Acadia; in a word, it seemed that every nation in Europe was ready to cross swords with her neighbor over the division of territory in America.

Pont-Gravé, a rich merchant of St. Malo, formed a plan of securing a monopoly of the fur trade in Acadia. His first step was to obtain a royal grant of all the powers and privileges of La Roche; the next, to cause a trading society to be formed of the leading merchants of Rouen. Under their patronage an expedition was fitted out and sent to America in command of Samuel Champlain. With three barks of twelve to fifteen tons burden, that navigator set sail in 1603, and safely arrived in Acadian waters. The King was so well pleased with the account Champlain gave of the voyage on his return that he promised royal aid.

Another expedition was determined on, and four ships were manned and victualled for the enterprise. The chief command was given to De Monts, a placeman at the French court, and distinguished as ever zealous for the honor of his country. Both Huguenots and Catholics were to ac-

company the ships, the former being allowed full freedom in their religious worship, but not to take a part in native proselyting,—the privilege of converting the heathen being exclusively reserved to the Catholic priests. Two of the vessels were to commence the traffic for the company at Tadousac, thence to range the whole seaboard of New France, and seize all vessels trading in violation of the royal prohibition. The two remaining vessels, having on board a few emigrants, were to seek some favorable locality and form a settlement.

De Monts sailed from Havre-de-Grâce in March, 1604, and stood for Acadia, which he preferred to Canada on account of its milder climate, the variety of its sea-fish, the abundance of harbors accessible at all times of the year, and the friendly character of the natives. De Monts came upon the coast near La Hève, now Halifax. In the first harbor he entered he seized and confiscated a vessel which he found violating his monopoly, perpetuating the memory of the event by naming the port after the master of the captured vessel—Port Rossignol. Cruising westward, he entered another harbor which he named Port Mouton in honor of another victim—that of an unfortunate sheep which fell overboard. De Monts, becoming alarmed at the delay of the vessel that was to bring out provisions for the winter, sent out exploring parties along the coast; the ship was happily discovered near Canso, and her stores brought to him by aid of the Indians; he then ordered her captain to proceed to Tadousac in aid of the colony there.

De Monts continued to coast to the westward around Cape Salle, and entered the Bay of Fundy* which he called, “la Baie Française.” He next entered St. Mary’s Bay; finding it a pleasant country, he advanced and sent out exploring parties. On board ship was a priest named Aubrey, who

*Fond de la Baie on old French maps.

went on shore with the company as was his custom. When about to return to the ship, he could not be found; they fired guns to attract his attention, but were forced to return without him. Cannons were fired from the vessel to guide him in case he were near, and for four days they searched the woods without avail. Then a suspicion was aroused in the minds of the friends of the missing man, that something was wrong. One of the party in company with Aubrey was a Protestant, and their voices had been heard in high dispute on religious matters while in the woods, and it was feared violence had been done him. To the credit of the company be it said, no action was taken against the suspected party, and with sad hearts they sailed out of St. Mary's Bay. Skirting along the coast they discovered a narrow channel leading into a capacious basin, around which were modest slopes cleft with deep water-courses, and bordered with verdant meadows. This was Annapolis Basin. The spaciousness and security of the harbor caused them to name it Port Royal. A large stream flowed into the basin from the eastward, up which they sailed fifteen leagues, as far as the boats would go, and named it River de l'Esquille, from a fish of that name with which it abounded.

M. de Poutrincourt, a gentleman of Picardies who accompanied the expedition, was so well pleased with the beauty of Port Royal and its surroundings, that he obtained a grant of it from De Monts, which grant was afterward confirmed by the King.

Leaving Port Royal, they pursued their way further to the east. Soon coming in sight of Cape Chignecto, they called it the "Cape of Two Bays," because it separated Chignecto Bay from the Basin of Minas. To the lofty island which lies off the cape they gave the name of Island *Haut*, on account of its great elevation. They landed on its solitary beach, which to this day is seldom profaned by the foot of man, and climbed to its summit, where they

found a spring of water. They next sailed eastward until they discovered the river by which the Indians reached the Basin of Minas from Tracadie, Miramichi, and other parts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Champlain seems unfavorably impressed with the forbidding aspect of the rock-bound coasts.

Crossing the Bay of Chignecto, the voyageurs came to a spacious bay with three islands and a rock, two bearing a league to the eastward, the other at the mouth of a river, the largest and deepest they had yet seen. This they named the River St. John, on account of the day it was discovered. By the Indians it was called Ouangondy, signifying a highway. Champlain, the historian of the expedition, describes the River St. John that the falls being passed, the river enlarged to a league in certain places, and that there were three islands, near which there were a great quantity of meadows and handsome woods, such as oaks, beeches, butternuts, and vines of wild grapes. The inhabitants went to Tadousac, on the great River St. Lawrence, and had to pass but little land to reach the place.

Leaving the St. John, they sailed to the west and came in sight of four islands now called "The Wolves," but which he named *Isles au Margos*, from the great number of birds he found on them. He presently found himself sailing among islands, many of them very beautiful, and containing numerous harbors, situated in a *cul de sac*; the waters abounded in fish.

The season being far spent, De Monts fixed upon an island at the mouth of the St. Croix River as the most suitable place to commence a settlement. He immediately began the erection of suitable buildings, in the meantime dispatching one of his vessels to St. Marys Bay to examine some ores. The attention of the sailors was attracted one day to the signal of a white handkerchief attached to a stick and waved by a person on shore; immediately landing they

were overjoyed on finding the missing Aubrey, who had been absent seventeen days, subsisting on berries and roots. He had strayed from his companions, and being unable to retrace his steps, he wandered he knew not whither.

De Monts built his fort at the end of the Island; outside of this were the barracks. Within the fort was the residence of De Monts fitted up with "fair carpentry work;" close at hand were the dwellings of his officers. A covered gallery, for exercise during bad weather, a storehouse, a large brick oven, and a chapel, completed the structures for the use of the colony. "Nearly two hundred years afterward, the stone foundations of these buildings were brought to light. Five distinct piles of ruins were discovered on the north end of the island, and the manner in which the work had been done showed the builders intended the fort should be a permanent one."*

While the colonists were thus occupied, Poutrincourt took his departure for France: he went for the purpose of removing his family to the home he had chosen at Port Royal, and to bear a message to the King that his subjects had at last founded a colony in Acadia.

Scarcely had they completed their labors before the rigors of winter burst upon them in all their fury. The colonists were appalled at the depth of the snows, and the fury of the blasts; the river became a black and chilly tide, and the cold was more severe than they had ever before experienced. De Monts had not chosen the position wisely, there being no wood near. Before spring thirty-six of his people died of scurvy.†

*Hanney.

†Champlain describes this disease as follows:—During the winter a certain disease broke out among many of our people, called the disease of the country, otherwise the scurvy, as I have since heard learned men say. It originated in the mouth of those who have a large amount of flabby and superfluous flesh, (causing a bad putrefaction,) which increas-

On the return of spring, De Monts armed his pinnace, and taking the remnant of colonists on board, hastened to quit the island. They sailed southward as far as Cape Cod; not finding a more eligible place for settlement, they turned helm and steered for Acadian waters, where they met with an expedition just arrived from France, with fresh supplies and forty emigrants for the colony. This accession stimulated their drooping spirits, and they at once set out for Port Royal. On their way they stopped at the solitary island which had been the scene of so much suffering, and where so many of their companions lay buried. Before leaving, some of the colonists sowed grain on the island: on visiting the place years later, they found and reaped a heavy crop of rye. "A solitary lighthouse now warns the mariner to avoid its bleak and inhospitable shores."

The site chosen for settlement at Port Royal was opposite Goat Island, on the Granville side of the basin, about six miles from the present town of Annapolis. The position was admirably adapted to the purpose. The ground gently sloped from the bank; the long line of hills in the rear ward off the bleak north winds; timber of the best quality was abundant; the fisheries were close at hand; there

es to such an extent that they can scarcely take anything, unless it is almost liquid. The teeth become quite loose, and they can be extracted by the fingers without causing any pain. The superfluity of this flesh requires to be cut away, and this causes a violent bleeding from the mouth. They are afterward seized with great pain in the legs and arms, which swell up and become very hard, all marked as if bitten by fleas, and they are unable to walk from contraction of the nerves, so that they have no strength left, and suffer the most intolerable pain. They have also pains in the loins, the stomach and intestines, a very bad cough, and shortness of breath; in short, they are in such a state that the greater part of those seized with the complaint can neither raise nor move themselves, and if they attempt to stand erect they fall down senseless, so that of seventy-nine of us, thirty-five died, and more than twenty barely escaped death.

were marsh lands of inexhaustible richness; the climate here was milder than in most of the peninsula;—in short, nothing was wanting that Nature could bestow to render the location desirable.

The colonists once more set to work. Dwellings were erected, storehouses built, and a small palisaded fort was constructed, as a means of defense against an enemy. And here the first water-mill was put up, an expedient that saved the colonists a great amount of the severest labor.

As soon as this work was fairly inaugurated, De Monts departed for France to provide for the provisioning of the new settlement, leaving Pontgravé in command during his absence. He left them under very auspicious circumstances and anticipated a speedy return with the needed stores.—The natives were pacific through the winter, and provided the colonists with an abundance of fresh meat, and opened a brisk trade with them in peltries. The settlers were free from epidemic during the whole season.

On return of spring [1606] Pontgravé, not yet satisfied, resolved to find a warmer climate for his colony. He fitted out a barque and set sail for Cape Cod. Twice was he driven back to Port Royal by stress of weather; at the last attempt the little vessel was injured at the mouth of the harbor, and permanently disabled. Pontgravé set to work to build another; in the meantime the season waned, and De Monts did not arrive from France. On the 25th of July, Pontgravé left Port Royal in his new vessel, leaving two men in charge of the stores, and, with the hope of falling in with some fishing vessel, coasted along as far as Canso, sailing through the Pétite Passage, between Long Island and the Main. At this time De Monts was hastening to the aid of Port Royal in the *Jonas*, and happening to pass outside of Long Island, the vessels missed each other. De Monts had been detained in France by some unforeseen circumstance, but finally succeeded in setting out with a fresh

supply of provisions and men, Poutrincourt accompanying him. Pontgravé fell in with a shallop left on the Canso coast by De Monts, and received information that the *Jonas* had arrived. He retraced his course with all haste, and on the 31st of July, rejoined his companions at Port Royal. In honor of the event Poutrincourt opened a hogs-head of wine, and the night was spent in Bacchanalian revelry.

Although the season was far advanced, they sowed vegetables and grain. Most of the colonists would have been content to remain, but De Monts wanted to make another effort further south. Accordingly Poutrincourt set sail on the 28th of August in search of another location in which to fix their settlement. On the same day the *Jonas* put to sea with De Monts and Pontgravé, who were to return to France. Poutrincourt's voyage began with difficulties, and ended in disaster. After being twice turned back by storms, he coasted as far as Cape Cod: here his vessel was damaged among the shoals. Some of his men who went ashore, came in collision with the natives, who here appeared to be of a savage, warlike disposition. Poutrincourt ordered his men on board; but five of them who neglected to obey, were surprised, two killed outright and others wounded—two mortally. A party were sent on shore, and the slain were buried, and a cross erected over their graves. The Indians soon appeared, tore down the cross and dug up the bodies. Poutrincourt replaced the cross and bodies, and bore away for Port Royal, where they arrived on the 14th of November.

The following winter was spent in comfort and cheerfulness. They made an arrangement, for each colonist to become steward and caterer for the day in his turn; it became a point of honor with each one, as his day of providing came, to have the table well served with game, which he procured from the forest or else purchased of the Indians. In consequence they fared sumptuously all winter. Painful to re-

cord, though bread and game were abundant, their wine began to fall short,—the festive Frenchmen were reduced from three quarts a man, daily, to an inconsiderable pint.

The Micmacs were their constant visitors through the winter. Memberton, chief of all the clans from Gaspé to Cape Sable, was a frequent guest. He recollected the visit of Cartier to the Bay of Chaleurs over sixty years before. In the spring the work of improvement was renewed. The fisheries were prosecuted vigorously, and all available land was prepared for receiving seed, and fortune seemed to smile on the little colony.

One morning in May the Indians brought in word that a vessel was moving up the Basin. Poutrincourt set out in his shallop to meet her;—she proved to be a small barque from the *Jonas*, then lying at Canso. She brought the disheartening intelligence that the company of merchants was broken up, and that no further supplies were to be furnished the colony. Nothing now remained but to leave Port Royal, where so much had been expended to no purpose. Poutrincourt determined to take visible tokens of the excellencies of Acadia back to France with him; to do so he must stay until corn was ripe. Not to sacrifice the interests of the merchants at whose charge the vessel had been sent to take the colonists back to France, he employed the barque in the meantime in trading with the Indians at St. John and St. Croix, and at Minas.

A war having broken out between the Indians of Acadia and the tribes west of the Penobscot, the whole available force of the Micmacs was called into requisition. Port Royal was the rendezvous, and early in the summer Memberton took his departure for Saco with four hundred warriors. This savage pageant, warlike, novel and imposing, greatly interested the whites; as the flotilla swept past the settlement the Frenchmen's guns thundered forth a grand salute which reverberated far and wide over the water—by

way of cheering their Indian friends on to victory. The Prince of the western tribes was defeated; a civil war broke out among his now divided people; pestilence followed; some tribes were exterminated and others were greatly reduced: such was the tragic end of this great savage war, and Memberton returned triumphant to Port Royal before the colonists left.

The grain having ripened, Poutrincourt set sail on the 11th of August. He left Memberton ten hogsheads of meal and all the standing grain, enjoining the Indians to sow more in the spring. The natives appeared sincerely grieved at the departure of the colonists, manifesting the intensity of their feelings even to tears.

Poutrincourt promptly waited on the French Monarch, showing him specimens of wheat, barley and oats grown in Acadia: also five living wild geese hatched near Port Royal. The King was much pleased with the specimens, and urged Poutrincourt to continue the settlement. He ratified the grant of Port Royal made him by De Monts, and desired him to procure the services of the Jesuits in converting the Indians, and offered two thousand livres for their support. Two years subsequent, Champdore visited Port Royal, and found the grain growing finely and the buildings all in good order; he was received by Memberton and his people with demonstrations of welcome.

Poutrincourt was detained in France much longer than he anticipated: he did not visit Port Royal until June, 1610. This time he brought with him a Catholic priest named Jossé Flesche, who prosecuted the work of converting the Indians. At Port Royal twenty-five were baptized—Memberton being one of the number. This great Sachem was so full of zeal that he offered to make war on all who should refuse to become Christians: this savored too much of the Mohammedan system of conversion, and was declined.—Poutrincourt, who was somewhat of a *connoisseur* in music,

composed tunes for the hymns and chants used by the Indian converts in the ceremonies of the church. A band of novel worshipers they were, celebrating in their rude church the solemn rites, with manners yet untamed.

Poutrincourt had sent his son to France for supplies early in July, and also to carry the news of the conversion of the natives, with instructions to return in four months. Winter having set in, and the expected succor not arriving, the colonists became seriously alarmed; but their experience in Acadian life enabled them to depend on their own exertions for supplies sufficient to ward off starvation. Biencourt had presented himself at the French court, and was desired by the Queen to take two Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Biard and Massé, with him on his return, the ladies of the court providing liberally for the voyage. Biencourt's vessel was to sail from Dieppe in October, but some Huguenot traders who had an interest with Biencourt refused to allow any Jesuits to go in the vessel. To this he was obliged to submit: Madame de Guercheville, a lady of the court, collected money sufficient to buy out the traders, and the missionaries were allowed to embark.

Biencourt, with a company of thirty-six persons, and a small craft of but sixty tons burden, essayed a winter voyage across the stormy Atlantic. They sailed in January, 1611, but were soon forced to take shelter in an English harbor. The voyage lasted four months: at one time they were in great danger from icebergs; they reached Port Royal late in May.

Much of the stores that were to supply the colony had been exhausted on the voyage, and they were forced to seek provisions elsewhere. A temporary supply having been obtained of some fishing vessels at the Island of Grand Menan, Poutrincourt set sail for France, leaving Port Royal in command of his son. The colony consisted of twenty-two persons, including the Jesuit Missionaries. Father

Massé took up his abode in the Micmac village at the mouth of the St. John; Father Biard united himself with Indians at Port Royal, accompanying Biencourt on his occasional trips to points along the Bay of Fundy.

About this time, the chief, Memberton, being near his end, a dispute arose between the Jesuit priests and Biencourt as to his place of burial. Biencourt wanted him to be buried among his own people, agreeably to a promise he had made the dying chief; the Jesuits insisted he should be buried in consecrated ground. Biencourt curtly told them they might consecrate the Indian burial ground, but he should see that Memberton's request was carried out. The old chief consented to be buried with the Christians, and he was accordingly interred in the burial ground at Port Royal.

Meanwhile the colonists were getting short of provisions; but late in January [1612] a vessel arrived with supplies, sent out by an arrangement Poutrincourt had made with Madame de Guercheville, who had exerted herself strenuously to promote the mission of the Jesuits. This lady was likely to become an ally that would fain be his own master; it being her ambition to form a spiritual despotism in Acadia, in which the Jesuits were to be the rulers, and herself the patroness. All of Acadia except Port Royal belonged to De Monts; having obtained a release of his rights, and a grant from the King for herself, she depended on Poutrincourt's necessities to force him to relinquish his portion. The latter did not return to Port Royal, but sent a vessel in charge of Simon Imbert, a servant in whom he had entire confidence. Madame de Guercheville sent another Jesuit named Du Thet, in the guise of a passenger, but really as a spy in her interest. Soon after their arrival, serious differences arose between the priests and the colonists. It is said that Biencourt was actually excommunicated by the Jesuit priests; he coolly informed

them, that however high their spiritual authority might be, he was their ruler on earth, and that he would be obeyed by all in the colony, even to the point of compelling obedience with the lash. Biard and Massé, who appeared sincerely desirous of converting the savages, were suffered to remain in the colony; but Du Thet, whom Biencourt suspected of not coming out as a missionary, and who was all the while creating dissensions, was sent back to France.—Thus was Port Royal once more brought to a tranquil state.*

Biencourt now set to work to prevent the influence of the Jesuits from becoming predominant in the colony: this determined the Lady de Guercheville to establish there a colony of her own. At Honfleur she fitted out a vessel of one hundred tons burden, and gave the command to M. de La Saussaye, with forty-eight persons and provisions for one year,—the Jesuit Fathers Du Thet and Quantin accompanying the expedition. The vessel was better provided with stores and implements than any previously sent to Acadia; carrying horses, goats for milk, tents and munitions of war. She wrote a letter commanding that Fathers Biard and Massé be allowed to leave Port Royal.

The vessel sailed in March, 1613, reaching Cape La Hève in May, where they held high mass, and erected a cross with the arms of Marchioness de Guercheville as a symbol that they held possession of the country for her. They next visited Port Royal; taking Fathers Biard and Massé on board, they stood for Pentagoet. When off Grand Menan, a thick fog arose which lasted ten days: then they put into a harbor on the east side of Desert Island. This they chose as a site for a settlement, naming the town St. Sauveur. All were speedily engaged in clearing the ground. La Saussaye was advised by the principal colonists to build

*Hannay.



ON THE BAY OF FUNDY.

a sufficient fortification before proceeding to cultivate the soil: he merely raised a small palisaded structure, and was perforce little prepared to meet the storm that was about to fall upon the unsuspecting little colony.

A fleet of vessels from Virginia, convoyed by an armed vessel under command of Captain Samuel Argall, came into Acadian waters for fish. Learning there was a French settlement in Mount Desert Harbor, with a vessel, he resolved to attack. All the French were ashore except ten men who did not understand the working of the ship. At the second discharge of Argall's musketry, Du Thet fell back mortally wounded; four others were seriously injured, and two men jumped overboard and were drowned. Argall proceeded to the new settlement on the shore, and informed them they were on English territory, and that they must remove. He said to La Saussaye if he could prove he was acting under commission from the Crown of France, he would treat them tenderly. La Saussaye could not show his commission, as it was among the papers which Argall had abstracted from the ship's chest while plundering the captured vessel. Argall now assumed a very haughty tone,—called them a set of freebooters and pirates—and to show his authority, carried away fifteen of the colony in chains to Virginia, magnanimously allowing the remainder to take a shallop and go in search of some French fishing vessel in which to return to France.

Argall arrived in Virginia, with his bound French captives. His perfidious theft of La Saussaye's commission was likely to cause his prisoners to be executed as pirates; to save them he produced the filched document: but this, while it saved the lives of one set of Frenchmen, ruined the rest of Acadia. Argall was furnished with two armed vessels, and set sail on a mission to destroy all the French settlements in Acadia. He was accompanied by Fathers Biard and Quantin. Argall first visited St. Sauveur, where he de-

stroyed the cross the Jesuits had set up, and erected another in its place with the name of the British King on it; then firing the buildings he sailed for St. Croix Island, where he destroyed a quantity of salt stored there by fishermen. He then crossed to Port Royal, piloted, it is said, by an Indian; but some suspected, and it was generally believed, that Father Biard did this favor.

Arrived at Port Royal, the fort was found to be without an occupant—all the people were at work in the fields, five miles distant. The first intimation the poor Frenchmen had of the presence of strangers, was the smoke of their burning dwellings. Argall proceeded to destroy the fort, together with a great quantity of goods stored within it, and even effaced with a pick, the arms of France and the names of De Monts and other Acadian pioneers, engraved on a stone in the interior. He is said to have spared the mills and barns up the river, only because he did not know they were there. The piratical Argall, having completed the destruction of the colony, departed for Virginia, having, by the act, rendered his name notorious in American annals. The despoiled inhabitants quitted the place, some taking refuge in the woods around with the Indians, and others emigrating to a distant settlement on the river St. Lawrence.

History says, that while the destruction was going on, Biencourt made his appearance, and requested a conference. The parties met in a meadow; Biard endeavored to persuade the colonists to abandon the country and take shelter with the invaders. The advice was received badly. Biencourt proposed a division of the trade of the country; Argall would not accede to this—his mission was to dispossess the French, and nothing short of that would suffice. When Argall left Port Royal, that settlement, on which more than 100,000 crowns had been expended, lay in ashes;—a place more desolate than the most dreary desert could have been. No more wanton destruction could be imagined, perpetrated in

a time of peace,—the only claim that England could lay to the territory being, that the Cabots, more than a century before, had touched somewhere upon these shores while sailing under British authority. No remonstrance ever came from France for this piratical outrage—that power evidently preferring to recognize the colony in the light of a private venture, and not giving the affair the importance of a national issue.

Poutrincourt, who attributed all his misfortunes to the Jesuits, took no further part in the affairs of Acadia; he was killed soon after the events just related, in the military service of the King.

Biencourt never returned to France, but maintained himself and a few faithful companions the rest of his life in Acadia; sometimes living with the savages, and at other times residing near Port Royal. Of his adventurous life in the remote Acadian wilds, but little has come down to us in history. Doubtless were it written, it would rival the most romantic production of fiction.

THE LA TOURS.

Although the destruction of Port Royal by Argall was complete, it does not appear that many of the inhabitants returned to France. In 1619, two French trading companies were formed; one to carry on a shore fishery with a rendezvous at Miscon on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other a trade in furs with a depot at the mouth of the River St. John. To provide for the religious wants of the adventurers, three Recollet missionaries were sent; through their instrumentality many of the natives were induced to embrace the Christian religion. During all this time the English continued to assert their right to Acadia by reason of the discovery by the Cabots a century before, and were fain to consider the French as interlopers.

At the court of King James was a Scottish gentleman, Sir William Alexander, standing high in royal favor, to whom was granted in September, 1621, a piece of territory including the whole of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Gaspé peninsula, to be held at a quit-rent of one penny Scots per year, to be paid on the soil of Nova Scotia on the festival of the Nativity of Christ, if demanded. The proprietor was endowed with enormous powers for the government of his territory, the creation of titles and officers, and the maintenance of fortifications and fleets.

In pursuance of his broad plans, in 1622 Alexander fitted out a vessel, and sent it to his new dominions. It was late

in the season when it reached Newfoundland, where the winter was spent. The following spring the expedition sailed to Cape Sable, where some time was occupied on the coast; finding the French in full possession, it returned to Scotland.

In 1625, Alexander obtained a confirmation of his title to Acadia; and to expedite its settlement, an order of Baronets was created. This, it was thought, would promote emigration by the introduction of the English custom of landed estates into the new territory: probably that result would have been accomplished, had the plan been vigorously carried out.

While this effort at the colonization of Acadia by English subjects was going on, Cardinal Richelieu formed a strong company to accomplish a similar purpose under French patronage, to which was given the title of the Company of New France. By the terms of the charter, Richelieu was bound to settle 200 persons the first year, and at the end of fifteen years the number to be augmented to 4000—every settler to be of French birth, and a Catholic. The French monarch gave the company two vessels of war, with arms and munitions: the wealth and standing of the members of the company seemed to insure success. Twelve of the settlers received patents of Nobility; the company were granted free entry into France of everything produced in Acadia,—thus having a monopoly of the fur trade, hunting and shore fishery; and were clothed with the power of declaring peace or war. Thus were two powerful companies fitted out by two European nations, who were destined to prey upon each other in the Acadian land. War between England and France having broken out, this circumstance was highly favorable to the strife of the colonists.

It is at this period of Acadian history that the name of La Tour comes into notice—a name associated with stirring and romantic incident, and occupying a prominent place in the annals of the country. Claude La Tour, the elder, was

a French Huguenot, who had lost the greater part of his estate in the civil war. He was what might be termed a broken down nobleman; and not having means to preserve the style of living to which his family had been accustomed, his attention was diverted to the new world. He came to Acadia in 1609, accompanied by his son Charles, who was then twelve years old. He was engaged in trading when the settlement at Port Royal was broken up by Argall: he was afterward dispossessed, by the Plymouth Colony, of a fort which he had erected at the mouth of the Pembocet.

Charles La Tour, the son, allied himself to Biencourt, and was made his Lieutenant; and in 1623, when he was twenty-six years old, he was bequeathed Biencourt's rights at Port Royal, and thus became his successor. He married a Huguenot lady, who afterward became the most remarkable character in Acadian history. Charles had removed from Port Royal soon after his marriage, and had built a fort at what is now Port La Tour, near Cape Sable. His quick perception showed him that, in the war that had broken out, the French were in danger of losing their title to the territory; to provide against such an occurrence, his father sailed for France to obtain arms and ammunition. On the voyage back with the supplies, several of the vessels were captured by a British squadron in command of Sir David Kirk, and Claude La Tour was sent to England as a prisoner of war. Kirk took possession of Port Royal, left a few men in charge of the works, and gave orders to prepare for the reception of a colony in the spring. Out of the fleet coming to the aid of Charles La Tour, eighteen vessels were captured, together with one hundred and thirty-five pieces of ordnance, and a vast quantity of ammunition. When tidings reached him of the disaster to the fleet, he summoned all the French in Acadia into his fort.

In the meantime the elder La Tour, being designedly treated with especial favor at the English court which held

him prisoner, and, moreover, forgetful of Lady La Tour, who lay sleeping in her lowly grave at Rochelle, became enamored of a Protestant lady, whom he married, and so fell away from his allegiance to his native country. He became interested in Sir William Alexander, and was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia,—his son Charles receiving the same honor. The two La Tours were granted a tract of territory from Yarmouth to Lunenburg, fifteen leagues inland toward the north, the land to be held under the Crown of Scotland. They were invested with power of building forts and towns, together with the rights of Admiralty over the whole coast. For this munificent gift the elder La Tour undertook to plant a colony of Scotch in Acadia, and also to obtain possession of his son's fort at St. Louis for the King of Great Britain.

He accordingly set sail in 1630, with two vessels well provided, and landing at Fort La Tour, waited on his son. Notwithstanding all the persuasions the father could offer, with promises of wealth and the favor of the Crown of Great Britain, the son could not be seduced from his allegiance to France, and boldly declared himself incapable of betraying the confidence reposed in him. Overwhelmed with mortification, the elder La Tour retired on board ship, where he addressed him a letter setting forth the advantages that would accrue to both; he next attempted to intimidate by menaces, in all of which he was disregarded: driven to desperation, he disembarked soldiers and a number of seamen, and attempted to carry the fort by assault. His attack was received by the son with spirit, and he was driven back with loss; the next day he directed another assault, with no better success. La Tour urged a third attempt but in this his intention was thwarted by the commanding officer, who would not permit any more men to be sacrificed.

Claude La Tour was now in a bad plight. He was a traitor to his country; he had broken his promise to the English;

he had nowhere to turn for comfort or succor. He told his wife he had counted on introducing her to a life of luxury and ease in Acadia, but found himself instead, reduced to beggary, and offered to release her and allow her to return to her family; she refused to desert him at his misfortune, preferring to share with him his trials and troubles. He finally took up his abode at Port Royal, where a colony composed chiefly of natives of Scotland had been established by a son of Sir William Alexander, who had built a fort on the Granville shore opposite Goat Island, on the site of the French works destroyed by Argall. Little is known of the colony, and that little is a record of misfortunes. Thirty out of seventy colonists died the first winter: the arrival of La Tour's vessels revived their drooping spirits.

Quebec having been captured by the English forces, the French determined to regain that stronghold, and also to strengthen the defenses of what possessions still remained to them in America. Two vessels were fitted out with supplies, arms, and ammunition, and arrived safely after a long and stormy passage. Captain Marot, who had command of the expedition, brought the younger La Tour a letter from his patrons, enjoining him to remain steadfast in the King's cause, and expressing the confidence of the company in his patriotism; also informing him that the vessels with the arms and ammunition were at his service. Charles La Tour induced his father to come from Port Royal and live near him,—building a house for his accommodation near the walls of the fort. The older La Tour brought information that the Port Royal colonists intended to make an attack on Fort La Tour. This information led to the evacuation of that fortress and the building of another strong fort at the mouth of the St. John, which would serve the double purpose of repelling the attacks of the English in that direction, and command the peltry trade of the Indians of the vast wilderness extending to the River St. Lawrence. Arti-

licers were promptly conveyed to the spot and the work commenced ; but the summer was so far advanced that little could be accomplished that season.

By treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in March 1632, Acadia was formally restored to France, the intention being that the Scotch fort at Port Royal should be destroyed. This measure led to considerable trouble in Acadia, and was the fruitful cause of much bloodshed.

Agreeably to the treaty, France proceeded to resume possession of those portions of her Acadian provinces that had been seized by the English. The company of New France, strong in numbers and influence, were to spare neither money nor pains ; an expedition was fitted out, and Isaac de Razilly was selected as commander. He was to receive a vessel, the *L'Esperance en Dieu*, free and in sailing order, armed with guns and swivels, powder and shot, and ten thousand livres in money, in consideration of which he engaged to put the company of New France in possession of Port Royal without further charges. He agreed, also, to fit out an armed pinnace of not less than 100 tons burden, to carry out the Capuchin friars, and such a number of men as the company should judge to be proper. He received a commission of the King authorizing him to cause the Scotch and other subjects of Great Britain to withdraw from Quebec, Port Royal, and Cape Breton. He held letters patent from the King of Great Britain for the restitution of Port Royal to the French, and an order from King Charles to his subjects in Port Royal for the abandonment of the place : also a letter from Sir William Alexander to the commandant at Port Royal to the same effect. Razilly took out with him a number of peasants and artizans : also Charnisey, a life-long enemy to Charles La Tour, and Nicolas Denys, who afterward became the historian of Acadia.

Port Royal was promptly surrendered by the Scotch Commander. Most of the Scotch families were glad to return

to their native land: those remaining became absorbed in the French population in the course of a generation.

De Razilly did not settle at Port Royal, but after taking formal possession went to Le Hève. This location had long been known to the French fishermen; it was an admirable place to carry on the shore fishery; the harbor was spacious, safe, and easy of access. De Razilly's fort was erected at the head of La Hève harbor on its western side, on a little hillock of three or four acres; it was a small, unpretending, palisaded enclosure, with a bastion at each corner. This fort constituted a kind of trading house, around which the houses of the colonists might cluster, and in which the people might seek refuge in time of danger. De Razilly, in the first year, brought out forty colonists from France, who settled on the rocky land surrounding Le Hève.*

Weak as was the colony at Le Hève, it was strong enough to create great apprehensions in the New England Colonies. Governor Winthrop, in his diary, related how he called the chief men to Boston to devise what could be done for the safety of New England. The completion of the fort in Boston, a plantation and fort at Natascott, and a plantation at Agawam, was ordered.

A party of Frenchmen came to Penobscot where the Plymouth colonies had erected a trading house, pretending they had just arrived from sea, that they had lost their reckoning, and wanted to keel up their vessel and repair her. The people were mostly absent; the French, seeing their opportunity, resolved to help themselves to the contents of the trading house; they overpowered the four men in charge and loaded their vessel with the pilfered goods. Then setting the guards at liberty, they told them to inform their master on his return that some gentlemen of the Isle of Rhè had been there. It is highly probable that Claude La

*Now occupied by the town of Halifax.

Tour was at the head of this maurauding party, to reimburse himself for his loss at Penobscot when it was taken from him by the English.*

While returning with the plunder of Penobscot, the French fell in with an English shallop, in command of Dixy Bull, and robbed him of his goods. Bull was so much discouraged by his failure in getting an honest living, that he determined to turn pirate himself. Gathering together nearly a score of other vagabond Englishmen, and seizing some boats, he rifled the fort at Pemaquid, and plundered the settlers. He was chased away by a hastily organized force, and a bark was fitted out with twenty men to capture him, which returned unsuccessful after a two months' cruise. This man Bull was the first pirate history mentions as being on the coast of New England.

Another collision between the French and English settlers occurred the following year, in which La Tour possessed a company at Machias, where they had established a trading house, killed two men, and took prisoners three of the guard over it; the prisoners and captured goods he carried off to the La Tour fort at Cape Sable. He further told them if he caught them trading to the east of Pemaquid he would seize them and their vessels as lawful prizes to the King of France. One of the English asked to see La Tour's commission; he informed the questioner his word was a sufficient commission where he had strength to overcome his enemies; when that failed, he would show him his commission.

The claim of the French was again enforced in the following year [1635]. De Razilly sent a vessel to Penobscot under command of his Lieut., Charnissey by name. The trading post at Penobscot which had been despoiled by the French a few years previous was still kept up by the Ply-

*Hannay.

mouth colony, but was little capable of defence. Charnisey seized all the goods in the trading house there; he gave the men their liberty, but showed them his commission from the French commander at La Hève to remove all the English as far south as Pemaquid. He bade them tell their people he would return next year with ships and men, and remove the whole colony as far south as the 40th degree of North Latitude. He then coolly proceeded to occupy the trading post and strengthen its defenses, a caution which served him to good purpose as subsequent events proved.

When the news of this violent proceeding reached the Plymouth colonists, their rage knew no bounds. After due deliberation they entered into a contract with a private individual, Mr. Girling, owner of a sailing vessel the *Great Hope*,—who undertook, for a payment of two hundred pounds, to drive the French out of Penobscot, the Plymouth colony to aid him with a bark and about twenty-five men. The French, eighteen in number, were so strongly intrenched, that after expending most of his powder and shot in an ineffectual cannonade, Girling was obliged to send to Boston for assistance, leaving the *Great Hope* to maintain the blockade.

The General Court having assembled at Boston, the matter was brought before it in due form; a diversity of sentiment prevailed as to the measures it were best to adopt.—Mutual jealousies and misunderstandings pervaded the council, and the conference fell through without arriving at any decision. Girling's ship was soon withdrawn, and the French were left in undisturbed possession of the mouth of the Penobscot for several years.

The last grant of importance made by the Company of New France was to Charles de La Tour,—that of the fort and habitation of La Tour on the River St. John, with lands adjacent. This fort was destined, in after years, to be the theatre of the most stirring events in Acadian history.

In 1676, Isaac de Razilly died in the midst of plans for the colonization of Acadia. The young colony soon became merged in dissensions; instead of engaging in the work of providing for their wants and improving their surroundings, they separated into contending factions, and carried on their quarrels with the most bitter animosity. As a legitimate result, after forty years had elapsed, scarcely a family had been added to the population of Acadia: during all this period New England, being more united in sentiment, was rapidly increasing in wealth and population.

After the death of Razilly, it would seem that Charnisey was permitted, by the rightful heirs, to enter into possession of his estates, though the deed of transfer was not given until some years later. One of his first acts was to take possession of Port Royal, erect a new fort there, and remove thither a portion of the colonists at La Hève. He added to their number twenty families emigrating from France. Charles La Tour was occupying the fort at the mouth of the St. John River, and his father Claude La Tour was holding the fortification at Port La Tour. A feud grew up between La Tour and Charnisey, exceeding in bitterness and direful consequences the warfare previously mentioned, against their English neighbors: as contentions between kindred are apt to be of the most hostile kind.

The site of La Tour's fort was on the west bank of the St. John, at its mouth, on a gentle rise of ground commanding the bay and river. On the west side of the harbor, opposite Navy Island, remains of earthworks may yet be seen, marking the locations of the bastions of the fort.* Traces of it, however, are rapidly disappearing,—the rapidly growing town of Carleton having already utilized most of its site. The fort was one hundred and forty feet square, compris-

* The author was shown these markings in the summer of 1880 through the courtesy of Mr. J. Hannay, the gentlemanly resident historian, who has given much attention to facts in Acadian history.

ing four bastions, and was enclosed by palisades, according to the prevailing custom of those early times. It was strongly built of stone, and contained two houses, a chapel, magazine, and stables for cattle. Twenty cannon composed the heavy ordnance of the fort. In this savage retreat lived Charles La Tour, affecting a style and show of military power emulating the baronetcies of the old world. The woods, the sea and the streams, furnished an abundance of the choicest viands, and the yearly ship brought such luxuries and necessities as the new country did not afford. A course of military drill was kept up, both as a display and as a means of self-preservation,—in addition to which, trading with the Indians gave employment to the men. Surrounded by dense woods of fir and larch, full of howling beasts and wild natives, within sound and yet secure from attack; but more suspicious of their white neighbors across the foggy Bay of Fundy:—the seasons came and went in their accustomed rounds: doubtless no ruler was ever more absolute in his authority, or more careless of what was transpiring in the outer world. Hunters and trappers, both white and Indian, frequented the fort, to dispose of their peltries and procure the necessities of life. Many an evening was spent in the midst of a vigorous northern winter, by the roaring fire-places, by the wild fellows of the forest, smoking their pipes, telling of fights with the red man, of encounters with roaming beasts and other dangers of the woods. Romantic and wild must such a life have been—as nearly the realization of the dream of an adventurer as could well be surmised. Lady La Tour must have led a lonely life, with no society but that of her husband and children. Once a year the ship came in—the only tie that bound her to her native land—and brought her news from home, and awakened memories of her native clime.

La Tour and Charnisey each held a commission as Lieutenant from the King of France: both had large territories

and were engaged in the same trade. To complicate matters, Charnisey's fort at Port Royal was in the tract granted to La Tour, while La Tour's fort at St. John was in the limits of land under government of Charnisey, and also commanded the whole of the St. John River territory—a tract rich in furs and abounding in fish. It was not unnatural that Charnisey should make an effort to dispossess his rival; his first attempt was by diplomacy before the court of France. He succeeded so well at the French capital, that before La Tour was aware of what Charnisey had been doing, he received an order from the King to embark immediately for France to answer sundry serious charges against him. A letter was sent by the King directing Charnisey, in case La Tour failed to obey the order, to seize his person and make an inventory of his effects. To accomplish this he was empowered to exercise all the means at his disposal, and to put La Tour's fort in the hands of persons well disposed to do the King's service. By one fell stroke, without being allowed the privilege of defense, La Tour was to be robbed of his possessions, and sent a prisoner to France. Not long after this he was still farther degraded by having his commission of Governor revoked—a commission he had held with credit for half a score of years.

A vessel was sent to Acadia bearing these letters to La Tour, and was intended by the King to convey La Tour a prisoner to France. The latter, not without reason, averred that these papers were obtained from the King through misrepresentation; and though by refusing to obey the royal mandate he was aware he made himself liable to a charge of treason, he boldly declined giving up his property. His fort at St. John was in such a state of defense that Charnisey dare not attack; the vessel was sent back without its prisoner.

La Tour had maintained himself in Acadia, by his energy and tact alone, for many years; he was of a cast of mind to

maintain himself as long as he had power to do so. Legal documents, usually so all-powerful, were not much feared where there was no force to back them. Charnisey knew he could not dispossess his rival without aid from France, and soon returned to that country to make another effort against him.

La Tour was well aware that Charnisey had powerful friends at Court—and further that he was an accomplished diplomatist. He began therefore to prepare for the struggle that he knew was sure to come. He had openly defied the authority of the King, and he must expect the consequences of his disobedience, unless he could devise means of escape. He determined to seek help from his neighbors of New England, with whom he was then on good terms, and in November, 1641, sent as messenger a Huguenot named Rochette to Boston to confer with them. Rochette proposed a treaty between Massachusetts Bay and La Tour. Governor Winthrop informs us the treaty was to embrace three points :

- 1.—Free commerce.
- 2.—Assistance against Charnisey, with whom La Tour had war.
- 3.—That La Tour might make return of goods out of England through the merchants of Boston.

The first condition was immediately granted ; the other two were rejected because Rochette brought with him no letters or commission from La Tour, and, therefore, no evidence had been offered of his official capacity. Rochette was courteously entertained by the people of Boston during his stay.

In October of the following year, La Tour sent his lieutenant to Boston with a shallop and fourteen men. This time he bore letters from La Tour to Governor Winthrop, highly complimenting his Governorship, and requesting the

people of New England to assist him against his enemy, Charnisey. These Frenchmen were grandly entertained by the Bostonians; the best of feelings sprang up between them—even the Catholic French attended the Protestant churches—but no measures were taken to grant the assistance asked for.

La Tour's lieutenant, while in Boston, formed an acquaintance with the merchants, and proposed the opening up of a trade. In conformity therewith the merchants sent a pinnace to Fort La Tour, laden with goods. This was the beginning of a trade with them which lasted as long as La Tour remained in Acadia. La Tour sent a letter to Governor Winthrop; thanking him for the courteous manner in which his lieutenant had been treated. On the way back the vessel stopped at Pemaquid. Here La Tour's messengers met with Charnisey—the latter gentleman told them the letter was from a rebel. He sent a printed copy of the order for La Tour's arrest to Governor Winthrop, and threatened, if the merchants of Boston sent more vessels to trade with La Tour, he would seize them as lawful prizes.

This order of arrest was the result of Charnisey's last voyage to France. He had succeeded in securing title to large territories in Acadia, on which title he had borrowed large sums to enable him to carry on war against La Tour. He was now determined on one great effort, and had secured means to employ five ships and a force of five hundred armed men in this bitter feud.

In the meantime La Tour was not idle. He dispatched Rochette to France to obtain aid. His cause was espoused with ardor by the Rochellois, who determined on going to his rescue. They fitted out a large armed vessel, the "*Clement*," loaded her with ammunition and other supplies, put on board one hundred armed Rochellois, and sent her with all speed to La Tour's fort. Thus was civil war in Acadia fed on both sides from France—swords being shaped at Ro-

chelle and at Paris with which to carry on this fratricidal strife. Clouds of fate, dark and ominous, brooded over the future of La Tour, yet he continued to maintain the struggle with courage unabated.

Early in June, 1643, an armed vessel suddenly appeared in the harbor of Boston. Scarcely was her presence noted until she had passed Castle Island and she had thundered forth a salute which echoed long and loud over the little Puritan town. There was no response—the Governor's garrison being withdrawn. A boat filled with armed men was seen to leave the ship's side, and was rapidly rowed to Governors Island, landing at Gov. Winthrop's garden. The boat was there met by the Governor and his two sons, who found the passengers to be La Tour and a party of his followers, come to solicit aid.

Early in the spring Charnisey had appeared before Fort La Tour with several vessels of war and five hundred men. Unable to carry the works by assault, blockade was resorted to, until such time as the necessities of the garrison should force a capitulation. In a few weeks the *Clement* appeared off St. John harbor, with men and supplies for La Tour, but was unable to enter on account of the blockade. Under cover of night La Tour stole out of the fort and boarding the *Clement*, crowded sail for Boston, where he arrived after a speedy passage.

Gov. Winthrop hastily called together such of the Magistrates as were at hand, and gave La Tour a formal hearing before them. The papers of the *Clement* showed La Tour was still styled "her majesty's lieutenant general in America," which was regarded as an offset to the order for his arrest showed by Charnisey. He was informed by the Governor and Council, that while no aid could be openly granted without the advice of the other members of the Government, he was at liberty to hire such men and ships as were in Boston. The Boston merchants were aware that their

trade would be injured by the destruction of La Tour, and the latter found no difficulty in securing the assistance he wanted. He hired four vessels of the firm of Gibbons & Hawkins, the *Seabridge*, *Philip and Mary*, *Increase*, and the *Greyhound*, together with fifty-two men and thirty-eight pieces of ordnance; enlisted ninety-two men to augment the force on board his vessel, provided all with arms and supplies, and was about to set sail with his flotilla for Acadia, when a new danger beset him.

By the articles of agreement, the ships were not required to undertake any offensive operations. It was stipulated they were to go as near Fort La Tour as they could conveniently ride at anchor, and join with the *Clement* in the defense of themselves or La Tour, in case Charnisey should assault, or oppose their approach to the fort. Any additional assistance was to be a subject of further negotiation, the agent of the Boston owners accompanying the expedition for the purpose. Doubtless the wily Frenchman surmised, that in case of open hostilities, the heat of the strife would cause them to forget the precise terms of the agreement, and induce them to join with him in annihilating the enemy. The news soon spread, however, that Winthrop had formed an alliance with the French Papist, and many letters of warning and deprecation were showered upon the Governor. Several ministers referred to the matter from their pulpits, and even went so far as to prophesy that the streets of their town would yet run red with blood, in consequence of this alliance with La Tour, and public sentiment ran so high that it seemed the expedition would be broken up altogether. In the midst of this clamor, Gov. Winthrop called another council, to whom he stated the condition of affairs, which had been grossly misrepresented, and the question was fully discussed.

The Puritans regarded the Old Testament as their guide. One party claimed, by the examples of Jehoshaphat, Jonas

and Amaziah, that it was wrong for righteous persons to associate with the ungodly in any way. The other side contended that the censure applied only to the particular cases in which it was given, and were not general in application; otherwise it would be unlawful to help a wicked man in any case. The latter party seems to have had the best of the argument, and the expedition was allowed to proceed.

La Tour bore away from the port of Boston about the middle of July, having made a host of friends during his stay. He made all speed for Acadia, and there was reason for haste, for during this entire period Charnisey had cut off all supplies from La Tour's fort, supposing his enemy to be within.

When La Tour's fleet of five ships came in sight off St. John, Charnisey's vessels were lying alongside Partridge Island. Suspecting the true state of affairs, Charnisey did not care to measure strength with the allied powers, but stood straight for Port Royal, and running his vessels aground, he and his men betook themselves to the shore, where they proceeded to put the mill in a state of defense.

The enemy pursued; Captain Hawkins sent an officer on shore bearing an apologetic letter explaining the presence of the New Englanders. Charnisey refused to receive it because it was not addressed to him as Lieutenant of Acadia. When the messenger returned, he reported great terror among the French, the friars included, and all were doing their best to put themselves in a position of defense.

La Tour urged Hawkins to send a force ashore and attack the mill; this the latter declined to do; if any of the New Englanders chose to go of their own accord, he would do nothing to prevent it. About thirty Bostonians availed themselves of the permission, and the united forces marched to the attack of Charnisey at his improvised fortress. After a sharp engagement, during which the besieged suffered the loss of three men killed and one taken prisoner, and three

of La Tour's men were wounded, Charnisey was driven from the mill. The New Englanders escaped without the loss of a man.

The allied forces now returned to Fort La Tour, where we may conjecture their victory was duly celebrated. During the period they were lying there, a pinnace belonging to Charnisey was captured, having on board four hundred moose hides and a like number of skins of the beaver. This was a rare prize; the booty was divided between the New England owners and crews, and La Tour. Hawkins was evidently willing to rob Charnisey, if not to fight him. La Tour paid off the vessels and crews that had been hired, and the New Englanders reached home in thirty-seven days from the time they had left Boston, in high spirits, without the loss of a man or ship. The good Puritan elders were shocked at the piratical seizure of the French pinnace, and claimed the expedition had done too much or too little;—they ought either to have remained neutral in the war, or else taken measures to effectually crush out the rival of La Tour.

Charnisey, not disheartened, commenced the erection of a new fort at Port Royal,* and returned to France for further aid. He there heard of the arrival of Lady La Tour, who had sailed for France to further her husband's interests and procure supplies. Charnisey obtained an order for her arrest on the ground that she was equally a traitor to the King with her husband; before the order could be executed she fled to England. Here she soon made many warm friends, and found means to freight a ship with supplies in London, and to forewarn her husband of the danger he was in from the efforts of Charnisey.

For many weeks La Tour, almost despairing, waited by

* I assume that Charnisey's old fort was on the site of Champlain's fort, opposite Goat Island, and that the new fort was built on the now ruined fortifications of Annapolis. (Hannay.)

the River St. John for the return of his wife. He finally sailed for Boston where he made known to Endicott his difficulties. A meeting of the magistrates was called; a few were unwilling to operate in favor of La Tour, and the rest would not act without the consent of all; La Tour was forced to return without the coveted assistance. All the New Englanders did was to send a letter of remonstrance to Charnisey. La Tour left Boston early in September, having spent two months to very little purpose. He boarded his vessel on training day, and all the training bands were made guard for him to the ship's boat; as he sailed out of the harbor the English vessels saluted him. He was accompanied by a Boston vessel laden with provisions for St. John. La Tour happening to delay on the way, by that means narrowly escaped capture by an armed vessel that Charnisey had sent to cruise the Bay of Fundy on the watch for him; but which, on the supposition he had escaped, had put into port.

Scarcely had the pennants of La Tour's vessels sank below the distant horizon, before a vessel displaying English colors came into Boston Harbor. Among her passengers were Roger Williams and Lady La Tour. This notable lady had left England six months before together with supplies on board this vessel, with a destination at Fort La Tour. The master had spent some time trading on the coast; it was September when they reached Cape Sable; as the vessel was entering the Bay of Fundy it was captured by an armed ship in the employ of Charnisey. It was found necessary to secrete Lady La Tour and her party, and to conceal the identity of the vessel—the master pretending she was bound direct for Boston. Charnisey, little suspecting the valuable prize he had in his possession, let them go, contenting himself with sending a message to the Governor of Massachusetts expressing a desire to be on good terms with that colony. The vessel was therefore forced to change

the destination of her voyage to Boston. This change in the voyage, added to unreasonable delay, was made the basis of an action at law brought by Lady La Tour for damages. She was awarded two thousand pounds; seizing the cargo of the ship, she, with the money thus acquired, hired three vessels to take the cargo and herself home, where she safely arrived after an absence of more than a year.

When Charnisey was apprized of Lady La Tour's safe arrival at her fort, and her friendly treatment at Boston, his rage knew no bounds. He directed an insulting letter to Governor Endicott, accusing him of dealing with a lack of honor; threatening him with the dire vengeance of the King of France. Charnisey soon displayed his vindictive spirit in a practical way; a small vessel sent out from Boston with



PARTRIDGE ISLAND.

supplies for Fort La Tour was captured, and the crew all turned loose upon Partridge Island, in deep snow, without fire, or scarcely a shelter, where they were kept close prisoners ten days. Charnisey then gave them an old shallop in which to return home; after stripping them of most of their clothes, and allowing them neither gun nor compass, they were suffered to depart for Boston, which they at last reached in sorry plight.

The New Englanders were highly incensed at this outrage. The Puritan Governor dispatched a messenger in a vessel to Charnisey bearing a letter full of spirit; he said his people meant to do right, and feared not the King of France. Charnisey told the messenger he would return no

answer, and would not permit him to enter the fort—lodging him without the gate. He, however, dined with him every day to show the messenger it was only as the bearer of Endicott's letter that he disowned him. Finally he indited a letter to Gov. Endicott, couched in high language, requiring satisfaction for the burning of his mill by the New England auxiliaries of La Tour two years previous, and threatening vengeance in case his demands were not met.

At the time the crew of the Boston vessel were fighting cold and hunger at Partridge Island, two friars hailed Charnisey's ships from the mainland and desired to be taken on board. They came from Fort La Tour, and had been turned out for showing signs of disaffection. Had Lady La Tour hung them instead, the sequel to this story might have been different. They told Charnisey that was the time for him to attack; that La Tour was absent, the fort rotten, with only fifty men to guard it, and susceptible of an easy reduction. On their representations Charnisey drew up his armament, ranged the vessels in front of the fort, and opened a brisk cannonade. The fire was returned with such vigor that Charnisey was obliged to warp his vessel behind a point of land out of range, and lost twenty men killed and thirteen wounded. This was in February, 1645.

In April of the same year Charnisey made another attack from the land side. La Tour was still absent—his mission to New England to secure aid had proved fruitless, and he could not reach home on account of armed cruisers waiting to capture him. Three days and nights the attack continued; the heroic lady commandant was resolved to hold out to the last; the defense was so well conducted that the besiegers were forced to draw off with loss. Treachery accomplished what heroism could not. Charnisey found means to bribe a Swiss sentry while the garrison were at prayers, who allowed the enemy to approach the fort without giving the alarm, and who were scaling the walls before the besieged

were aware of the attack. But even then the heroism of Lady La Tour repulsed them, and Charnisey lost twelve men killed and many wounded, while fighting within the fort. Charnisey now proposed terms of capitulation; Lady La Tour, despairing of successful resistance, accepted, and the besiegers were given possession.

No sooner did Charnisey find himself master of the place than he disclosed all the baseness of his character. On pretense that he had been deceived, he caused all the garrison to be hung but one, whom he spared on condition that he should be the executioner of his comrades. Lady La Tour suffered the indignity of being forced to be present at the execution with a rope about her neck, by way of showing that he considered her as deserving of hanging as were the others, but that her life was spared only by his gracious forbearance.

This broke the spirit of this remarkable lady; she survived the fall of the fort only about three weeks, when she was laid to rest on the banks of St. John. This noble wife and mother left behind a little child which was sent to France; but as no further mention is made of it, the supposition is that it died young.*

The booty taken by Charnisey in La Tour's fort amounted to more than £10,000. This loss ruined La Tour; and Charnisey had become so much involved by the expense of the war, that he could not hope to liquidate his own indebtedness. Thus were both men ruined by a useless and foolish war against one another, when both otherwise might have become wealthy.

La Tour was in Boston when the news of the reduction of his fort and the death of his wife reached him. Being by nature of a hopeful spirit, he was not the man to yield to misfortune; his address procured friends wherever he

* Hannay.

went; in his greatest straits he never wanted for money to supply his immediate necessities. He applied to Sir David Kirk, Governor of Newfoundland, who expressed a willingness to render the required aid, but whose promises were not fulfilled: towards Spring the merchants of Boston fitted him out with supplies for a trading voyage to the eastward.

In the summer of 1646, we hear of La Tour in Quebec, where he was received with marked honors. The guns of the citadel thundered forth a salute; the garrison was drawn up to receive him in a manner worthy of one of high rank; the whole populace turned out to behold the man of whom they had heard so much; in short, the civic and military vied with each other in their expressions of hospitality and respect. How strange and unaccountable are the workings of human passion and prejudice, as exemplified in the treatment La Tour at various times received from his countrymen;—at one time we behold him hunted down as an outlaw, at another he is entertained in the style of a prince—all under the laws of the same Empire.

Charnisey had now nearly attained the summit of his ambition. He had driven his rival out of the country; he was received with the favors and smiles of royalty at home; a treaty had been definitely settled with the colony of Massachusetts; and he now was the undisputed monarch of an extent of territory half the size of France. He built mills, dyked the marshes, constructed vessels to carry on his commerce;—thus were his dominions daily growing in strength and opulence.

One conquest more, however, was necessary before his thirst for power could be satisfied. Nicolas Denys, a friend and intimate associate of Charnisey, had been appointed "Governor of the whole coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the islands adjacent," and it was to dispossess him of this territory that Charnisey now turned his attention. He

fitted out a fleet, and dispatching it against his old friend Denys, seized all of his forts, captured his goods, broke up his fishing establishments, and ruined his settlers. Past friendship availed nothing with the cold-hearted and rapacious conqueror.

Charnisey was at length vanquished by a foe he could not subdue. In 1650, he met a violent death by drowning in Port Royal River. Neither history nor tradition gives any particulars of the event further than is given in these few words. Whether the occurrence was premeditated on his part, or that of some one he had deeply wronged, or was the result of accident, will perhaps ever remain a mystery. He had, in his life, been hard and cruel, incapable of pity, and destitute of remorse for his treachery toward the heroic Lady La Tour. Though treated with such high favor when at the French court, his influence there did not survive him a single day;—indeed, it was said there was not a friend to be found in all France who would speak for him. Denys, his cotemporary, speaks only of his rapacity, cruelty, and tyranny.

News of Charnisey's death having reached La Tour, the latter lost no time in sailing for France. A living man has good chance of success when confronted by a dead rival, and so it proved in this case. La Tour speedily secured an acquittal of the charges against him, and obtained a new commission with additional rights; and thus with character cleared, and endowed with the fullest powers a sovereign could bestow, he once more returned absolute monarch of Acadia.

La Tour took possession of his old fort at the mouth of the St. John, the widow of Charnisey meanwhile remaining with her children at Port Royal. That lady beginning to view with alarm La Tour's pretensions to the country, entered into an agreement with the Duke de Vendome, a reputed son of Henry IV, who for a consideration was to aid her in

recovering her possessions. This agreement having received the sanction of letters patent from the government of France, the skies of La Tour's prosperity began to be darkened by portents of a coming tempest. The matter was righted without the shedding of blood by a mutual agreement between the principals in the quarrel; that is to say, La Tour married the widow of Charnisey, and united their varied interests into one. Articles of agreement were drawn up with great minuteness of detail, and the marriage was solemnized in the presence of many august witnesses. La Tour had now passed his fiftieth year, and no doubt rejoiced at the prospect of peace, in which, however, he was doomed to further disappointment.

This adverse fortune was embodied in the person of Le Borgne, a merchant of Rochelle, who had obtained judgment in the courts against Charnisey for money advanced him, to the amount of 160,000 livres, and who had come out to Acadia to take possession of Charnisey's estate, which he understood embraced all of Acadia.

Le Borgne began operations by plundering the settlements on the Laurentian Gulf belonging to Nicolas Denys, as Charnisey had done before him, capturing vessels and cargoes, and taking Denys and his men prisoners. They came by way of La Hève, where they burned all the buildings, not sparing even the chapel. Denys was placed in a dungeon at Port Royal, but was afterwards liberated, when he returned to France; he was in due time restored to his rights, and eventually to his possessions, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from which he had twice been ruthlessly torn.

Le Borgne's success in this warlike exploit emboldened him to undertake another—no less than the capture of Fort La Tour. This he attempted to do by strategy, but a shallop having secretly left Port Royal with information of Le Borgne's intentions, the enterprise failed. Before the war could be carried further an English fleet appeared upon the

scene, and both La Tour and Le Borgne capitulated to the superior force of the enemy.

The seizure of Acadia was welcome news to the New Englanders, who had looked with alarm at the growth of a rival colony in the new world. Cromwell seems to have justified the act, and a government was organized for the control of affairs in the new territorial acquisition. It was arranged that whosoever traded with the colony should pay enough for the privilege to support the garrison; Massachusetts was asked to enforce the law, and assist the English in Acadia if necessity required.

La Tour resolved on one more grand effort to retrieve his fortunes. Hastening to England he laid his cause before Cromwell, showing how, as co-grantee and heir of his father, he was entitled to large possessions in Acadia by grant of the British Crown through Sir William Alexander; his well known plausibility and address secured for him a triumphant success. The Acadian diplomat, having associated with him Thomas Temple and William Crowne, and secured a large grant of territory, next sold out his interest to his partners, probably fearing the dissensions that would sooner or later occur. He evidently regarded a title of an estate in Acadia as very precarious property, so much in dispute, and so frequently changing masters. La Tour lived about thirteen years after this, dying at the ripe age of 72, and was buried in the beloved Acadian land which had been his home from his boyhood.

Temple was made Governor of the forts at St. John and Penobscot, and commenced the expenditures of large sums of money in improvements. In the meantime, the home government having been changed, Temple was in danger of losing his title. He was obliged to compromise with a Frenchman named Thomas Elliot, by an annual payment of six hundred pounds. He found it necessary also to return to England to defend his interests, one Captain Breedon

having been appointed Governor in his place. In July, 1667, the famous treaty of Breda was signed, by which instrument England ceded to France all the province of Acadia. Temple was ordered to deliver up Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal, Cape Sable and La Hève, to the person appointed to receive them. After some delay the forts were formally delivered up—Chevalier de Grand-fontaine having been commissioned by Louis XIV to receive them. A careful inventory of the forts and their contents was taken, evidently with a view of establishing a claim for indemnity in Temple's behalf. He estimated his expenditures in Acadia at £16,000, but neither he nor his heirs were able to recover any part of this vast sum from the Crown of England.



FROM GRAND-FONTAINE TO MENNEVAL

At the time Grand-fontaine had established himself on the Penobscot there were less than five-hundred white people living in all Acadia. Though nearly three-fourths of a century had elapsed since De Monts formed the first settlement at St. Croix Island, the time had been so fully occupied in attending to their quarrels among themselves, and so much property wasted in the wars with their English neighbors, that the real interests of the Province were neglected. The prime motive that actuated the promoters of colonization, was thirst for gold. Accounts of the vast quantities of the precious metals that the cruel and rapacious Spaniards were acquiring in Mexico and Peru, were being industriously circulated throughout Europe with favorable exaggerations: a country that did not abound in gold was apt to be considered worthless. Acadia, notwithstanding all the wealth of her natural resources, came under the universal ban, and capitalists were unwilling to take the trouble and risk unless the prospect of sudden wealth was held out to them. Besides, the government of the colony was continually reverting from one power to the other; plunder and pillage was the order of the day; the resources of the soil had not been developed, nor were the locations for settlement at all times wisely chosen; the governors appointed to look after the welfare of the colonists, were more apt to look after

their own interests to the detriment of the public; in a word, so many were the disadvantages, that we cease to wonder the growth of Acadia was so slow. The brief sovereignty granted to Grand-fontaine, was not without the difficulties that usually beset the rulers of Acadia. The encroachments of his English neighbors, the jealousies of his French associates in Acadia, and the machinations of enemies at home, kept him fully occupied. During his administration a few colonists repaired to Chignecto, "where an enormous area of marsh land awaited but the care of man to yield its riches." A few years later Piere Theriot, Claud and Antoine Landry and Rènè Le Blanc began settlement at Minas, which finally grew to be the most rich and populous in Acadia.

In 1673 Grand-fontaine was succeeded by Chambly. During the summer of the following year, as Chambly with his garrison of thirty men were at their usual duties about the fort at Penobscot, they were startled by the appearance of a Dutch war vessel on the river. Louis XIV was then at war with Holland, and while his generals were winning glory for him in Europe, the Dutch thought they might aid in the cause by attacking the French in America. The vessel was heavily armed and carried a force of one hundred and ten men; after a brief combat, during which several of the garrison were killed, Chambly capitulated. The French fort at Jemseg, on the St. John River, likewise was taken by the Hollander, who made no effort to hold on to the forts so easily captured, but was content with plundering them of their valuables. The French made no further attempt to occupy the fort at Penobscot, and it was suffered to fall into decay.

In the summer of 1676 the Dutch again visited Penobscot and undertook to restore and garrison the fort. The French were too weak to offer resistance; but the English, unwilling to see a Dutch colony established on their northern bor-

clers, dispatched two or three vessels from Boston, and the invaders were driven off. The English quitted the place as soon as they had dispossessed the Dutch, not caring to maintain a garrison there.

Pentagoet, as this fort was afterward called, was not suffered to remain tenantless. Baron de St. Castin, an Indian chieftain of French birth and education, immediately occupied it with his savage subjects. This man figured largely in the events transpiring in Acadia and the adjacent New England provinces. His character and disposition has been made the subject of much adverse criticism, and also of commendation, by various historians who have written of him. He married among the Indians (some say he had but one wife), and according to good authorities he was always friendly to the English, and used his influence to keep the savages at peace. Other authorities, entitled to equal credence perhaps, aver he lived a life of licentiousness among the Indians, and that he incited them to acts of plunder and rapine against the English settlements, and that he even went so far as to direct the savages in person, in their marauding incursions. Suffice it to say, that at one time the name of Baron St. Castin was a terror throughout New England, and he received the credit of planning all the Indian massacres that desolated the country. Was the community startled with the tidings of another frontier village laid waste by the midnight torch, and women and children tomahawked and scalped?—"The Baron St. Castin"* was hurled from every tongue with bitter execrations.

*The Baron St. Castin, a native of Oberon among the Pyrenees, having lived among the savages for above twenty years, is looked upon by them as their tutelar god. He married among them after their fashion, and preferred the forests of Acadia to the Pyrenian Mountains that encompass the place of his nativity. The savages made him their great chief or leader, and by degrees he has worked himself into such a fortune, which any man but he would have made such use of, as to draw out of

Lauveigait, writing to Father La Chasse, says of the sons of the Baron :—"The insolence of the Messrs. de St. Castin has come to be so excessive, that they no longer set bounds to it, in their conduct towards me or before God. The elder, who does not care to marry, and not satisfied with spreading corruption through the whole village, in addition to that, now makes a business of selling brandy, openly, in company with his nephew, the son of M. de Bellisle. They have been the means of one man being drowned already on account of it, and are like to be the destruction of many others. The younger of the Messrs. de St. Castin never comes to the village without getting drunk in public, and putting the whole village in an uproar."

Mrs. Williams, in her excellent work on the Neutral French, pictures the home of Baron St. Castin as the abode of refinement which is in ill keeping with the sinister character imputed to him by the English. As to his constancy, she goes on to say, one fact alone should set this matter at rest. The Baron had immense possessions in France, and many connections there, and his son by the daughter of Madocawando, chief of the Tarratine tribe, had no difficulty in establishing his claim to his father's title and estates. He must, too, have been united to this woman by the rites of the Catholic Church, to make his claim good. It was known that he usually had a missionary of that denomination in his house.

In 1721 a son of Baron St. Castin was decoyed on board

the country above two or three hundred thousand crowns, which he has now in his pocket, in good dry gold. But all the use he makes of it is to buy up goods for presents to his fellow savages, who upon their return from hunting, present him with beaver skins to treble their value. The Governor-General of Canada keeps in with him, and the Governor of New England is afraid of him. He has several daughters, who are all of them married very handsomely to Frenchmen. He has never changed his wife, by which means he intended to give the savages to understand, that God does not love inconstant folks. (La Hontan.)

an English vessel in the harbor at Pentagoet, taken to Boston and cast into prison. This proceeding was the occasion of much unfavorable comment in Massachusetts. The charge against him was, that he was present with the Indians at Arrowsic, dressed in a splendid French uniform. His case was made the subject of legislative action; a committee being appointed, he so well satisfied them that wrong had been done him, that they reported favorably to his discharge. In reply to interrogatories he said: "I received no orders from the Governor of Canada to be present at Arrowsic. I have always lived with my kindred and people.—My mother was an Abenakis—I was in authority over them. I should not have been true to my trusts if I had neglected to be present at a meeting wherein their interests were concerned. My uniform is required by my position, which is that of a Lieutenant under the French King. I have the highest friendship for the English. My disposition is to prevent my people from doing them mischief; and my efforts shall be to influence them to keep peace."

In 1676 Chambly left Acadia, and La Villière, M. Perrot, and Menneval successively exercised the functions of Governor of the province, the latter coming into power in April, 1687. The following year was signalized by the descent of a New England force upon Acadian soil, which opened the way for an Indian war that brought ruin and desolation to many a frontier village, and wasted many precious lives.

Andross having become royal governor of New England under a commission from James II, he formed the resolution to seize upon Penobscot. Setting sail, his frigate anchored opposite Castin's residence, and a lieutenant was sent ashore to inform the Baron that Andross wished to see him on board his vessel. St. Castin declined the interview, and with his family fled to the woods, leaving most of their household effects to the mercy of the enemy. Andross landed and robbed his dwelling, and returned to Pemaquid

with his booty ; but, as before stated, the result showed it to be a costly prize.

The Indians commenced hostilities the following August, probably urged on by St. Castin, though no doubt having grievances of their own to redress. Andross marched against them with a large force, but the savages entirely eluded him. Before he could take the field again in the Spring of 1689, owing to political changes in Europe, he was removed from office. France and England being at war this made an excuse for renewed hostilities between their subjects in the New World. Frontenac had been re-appointed Governor of Canada, and from his stronghold at Quebec, he was to direct operations on a grand scale ; New England and New York were to be ravaged, and the Protestant population driven from the soil.

The war was renewed in June, 1689, by the destruction of Dover, New Hampshire, when Major Waldron and twenty-two others were killed and twenty-nine taken captive. The venerable Major was then eighty years of age, and was tortured to death as a retribution* for an act of treachery he had been guilty of some twelve years previous, and which doubtless caused the spilling of much innocent blood. During King Philip's war the Major was in command of the militia at Dover. About four hundred Indians were encamped there, with whom Waldron had made peace. Two companies of soldiers arriving soon after, the Major proposed a sham fight between the Indians and whites ; he induced the savages to fire the first volley which was no sooner done than they were surrounded by the soldiers and the whole of them made prisoners. Two hundred were taken to Boston, where seven or eight were hanged, and the rest sold into slavery.

*The time had now arrived to satisfy their vengeance. Seating the old man in a chair, on a table, they tauntingly asked, "Who is going to

The destruction of Dover was speedily followed by the massacre at Saco, and later still by that at Pemaquid. New England was aroused by these repeated attacks. A large force of volunteers was sent into the field, and the command given to Major Church, who had won reputation in King Philip's war. Nothing of importance was accomplished that year.

The war between the French and English in America opened early in 1690. Three expeditions were planned under the direction of Frontenac, which were sent against New York, New Hampshire and Maine; the war parties being formed, respectively, at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. The Montreal force consisted of upwards of one hundred men, about half of whom were Indians. The leaders were Frenchmen, and Albany the destined point of attack; but when, after a terrible winter journey through the wilderness, they reached its vicinity, the savages objected, and Schenectady was invested instead. "This village, which contained eight houses, they reached Feb. 18, in the evening. The people were found asleep, not having posted any sentinels, though advised to be on the watch previously. They did not believe that Canadians, loaded with arms and provisions, would traverse for hundreds of miles the snowy wilds at such a season—an incredulity which cost them dear! The French,—after reconnoitering the place, which had a four-sided palisaded enclosure, with ten gates,—entered the latter noiselessly, amid a snow-fall, about 11 P. M., and invested all the houses. These men, with frozen locks and burning eye, and vengeance in their hearts, resembled the terrible phantoms described by the Scandinavian bards. A

Judge the red man now?" Amid whoops and jeers, they slit his nose, cropped his ears, and committed other cruelties upon his person, till faint from loss of blood, his own sword was held under him, which transpierced his body.

more grisly phantom, the King of terrors himself, it was who now entered at the portals of the silent streets of Schenectady, the indwellers of which were about to be awakened from their last sleep. Orders were given underbreath, and, each soldier muffling the rattling of his arms as agreed on, the fatal sign was given, and every door forced with hatchets.* The inhabitants thus caught by surprise could offer no resistance. Two houses only were spared: one because a wounded French officer lay there; the other was left out of regard to Mr. Sander, whose wife had kindly treated in past times some French prisoners. Sixty persons were killed, including ten women and twelve children; and twenty seven were led captive to Canada. Many in the darkness and confusion escaped the massacre only to perish by a more lingering death from exposure: some who fled to Albany lost their limbs from frost. The victors carried away a quantity of plunder, but on their way back were pursued by a party of Mohawks, and a number of them were killed and taken.

The Three Rivers expedition consisted of about fifty French and Indians. After a two months' journey through the trackless wilderness, the party attacked Berwick on the morning of the 28th of March, before daybreak. Thirty-four persons were killed, over fifty taken prisoners, the buildings were set on fire, and the return march was begun. One hundred and forty men were hastily collected from the neighboring towns, and the retreating party were pursued as far as Wooster River, where the enemy made a stand and checked the pursuit until nightfall, and then made good their escape.

The third war party left Quebec on the 28th of January, composed of fifty French, and seventy Abenakis Indians. On the Kennebec they fell in with the Three Rivers party;

* Garneau.

their force was augmented by a number of Kennebec Indians and others from St. John and Penobscot, until the party numbered about five hundred men.

Falmouth was attacked on the 26th of May, and all the people who were unable to reach the fortified houses were slain. During the following night the inhabitants retired to Fort Loyal, where there was a small garrison under Captain Davis. A regular siege was made against the fort, and after a brave defence of four days, Davis was forced to surrender. The terms promised quarter to the inmates of Fort Loyal and a guard to the next English town; but no sooner was the fort given up than the place was turned over to pillage. About one hundred, men, women, and children, were murdered in cold blood, and Captain Davis, with three or four others, was carried off captive to Quebec. The fort was destroyed, and the dead bodies of the unfortunate people were allowed to lie unburied, mingled with the ashes of their homes. All that summer their mangled corpses remained exposed to the elements, and supplied the wild animals of the forest with ghastly feasts for many a night's hideous revel. In October, Major Church, then on an expedition to the eastward, gathered their bones together and buried them.

These acts of atrocity by the savages, aided and led on by the French, was doubtless measurably done in reprisal for the massacre at Lachine the year previous, which was attributed to English instigation. Though not a part, strictly speaking, of the subject of this volume, a brief description of that tragic event will lead to a better understanding of the state of affairs at that time: we are the more inclined to give it from the fact the massacre of Lachine is not often referred to by the authors of American histories.

The French in Acadia and Canada on the one hand, and the English colonists on the other, were engaged in a terrible strife, the object of each being the total subjugation of the opposing party. To further their interests both at-

tempted to win over the various wandering Indian tribes as allies. In this the French, through the influence of their priests, showed the better diplomacy. But the Iroquois, a strong and warlike confederacy occupying the central portion of what is now the State of New York, manifested a strong friendship for the English, and this preference was destined to be shown in a distinctive manner.

The Governor of Canada, the Marquis de Denonville, had been positively informed that an inroad by the Iroquois on his territory had been arranged; but as no precursive signs of it appeared to the general eye, and as the Jesuit priests expressed their disbelief in such an occurrence, no defensive preparations were made. The summer of 1689 was well advanced, "when the storm, long pent up, suddenly fell on the beautiful Island of Montreal, the garden of Canada. During the night of the 5th of August, amid a storm of hail and rain, 1400 Iroquois traversed the Lake St. Louis, and disembarked on the upper strand of the Island. Before day-break the invaders had taken their station at Lachine, investing every house within a radius of several leagues. The inmates were buried in sleep,—soon to be the dreamless sleep that knows no waking for too many of them. The Iroquois only waited the signal from their leaders to fall on. It is given. In short space the windows and doors of the dwellings are driven in; the sleepers dragged from their beds; men, women, and children, all struggling in the hands of their butchers. Such houses as the savages cannot force their way into they fire; and as the flames reach those within, they are driven forth to meet death at the threshold, from beings who know no pity: they even forced parents to throw their children into the flames. Two hundred persons were burned alive; others died under prolonged tortures, while many were reserved to perish similarly at a future time."

While these events were transpiring, it must not be sup-

posed the New England people were idle. Extensive preparations were going on in Massachusetts, spurred on by reports of these repeated outrages of the French and Indians, having no less an object in view than the reduction of both Port Royal and Quebec, the two strongholds of the French in America.

The Port Royal expedition sailed from Boston on the 9th of May, 1690. It consisted of a 40 gun frigate, a ship of 16 guns, and a third of 8, with transports for the conveyance of 700 men. The command was given to Sir William Phipps,* a native of Maine. On the 19th of the same month the guard at the entrance of Port Royal Basin discovered the hostile fleet, and fired off a mortar to alarm the people at the fort. During the night the guard reached the fort and reported the number of the enemy. Menneval, perceiving that an attack was intended, fired a cannon to call the people to his assistance; only three responded to the summons. The garrison was small, the works were in poor condition and most of the cannon were dismounted. Men-

*Phipps was born in 1650, at Pemaquid. At the age of eighteen he was apprenticed to a ship-carpenter; at the expiration of his indentures, he built a vessel which he himself navigated. He first brought his name into prominence by raising a quantity of treasure from a Spanish wreck. He had been provided with the necessary apparatus by the Governor of Jamaica to raise the cargo of the frigate "Alger Rose" near the Island of Hispaniola; and having for a long time sought the object of his voyage near a reef of rocks called "The Boilers," was about to abandon the search, when, as one of the boats was returning to the ship, a sea-feather was observed growing out of a rock. An Indian diver was sent to fetch it up, who saw several guns lying at the bottom of the sea. On the second descent the Indian raised a mass of silver; and Phipps carried away over thirty-two tons of silver bullion, besides a quantity of gold, pearls and jewels, over which the billows had been rolling for more than half a century. When the new charter of Massachusetts was granted, he was made Governor; being a man of hasty temper, he was summoned to England to answer a charge of assault; he died while there, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, Walneath.

neval was advised to remove his garrison and stores up the river; the brigantine lying at hand, was brought near the fort and the soldiers commenced loading her with provisions and ammunition. While this was going on, two priests—Petit and Trouvé—arrived, and they induced Menneval to change his plan. They persuaded him he would only increase his difficulties by abandoning his fort, and that he might make an advantageous capitulation. Accordingly, the following day, as the New England fleet appeared in Port Royal Basin, Phipps sent his trumpeter to summon the garrison to surrender. Menneval detained him and sent Petit to arrange terms of capitulation. Sir William demanded an unconditional surrender. This was peremptorily refused by the Priest, who proposed the following articles of capitulation:—1st, That the soldiers with their arms and baggage, should be transported to France, in a vessel to be provided by the English. 2nd, That the inhabitants should be maintained in peaceable possession of their properties, and that the honor of the women should be preserved. 3d, That they should be permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that the property of the church should be protected.

Sir William agreed to these conditions, but refused to commit them to writing, stating as a reason that his word as a General was better than any document whatever. Menneval was obliged to content himself with this assurance, and the keys of the fortress were given up. Upon examination the English were surprised at the weakness of the place, and regretted giving such favorable terms. A slight misunderstanding occurring, Phipps used it as a pretext to annul the conditions; he disarmed the soldiers and imprisoned them in the church; he confined Menneval in his own house and robbed him of his money and effects, and gave up the place to general pillage, from which neither the Priests nor the Church were exempted. He sent a force to reduce

La Hève and Chedabucto, where a quantity of goods belonging to the fishing company were taken ; from thence it proceeded to Isles Percé* and Bonaventure, where the crews sacked and burned all the houses and destroyed the churches, firing 150 gunshots through the picture of St. Peter. The losses the French incurred through Phipps' expedition exceeded fifty thousand crowns.

*The summit of the Perce Rock covers about two acres, and is divided into two great districts, one of which is inhabited by the gulls, and the cormorants dwell on the other. If either of these trespass on the other's territory (which occurs every fifteen minutes, at least), a battle ensues, the shrill cries of hundreds or thousands of birds rend the air, great clouds of combatants hover over the plateau, and peace is only restored by the retreat of the invader. When the conflict is between large flocks, it is a scene worthy of close notice, and sometimes becomes highly exciting.

Many years ago the Rock was ascended by two fishermen, and the way once being found, scores of men clambered up by ropes and carried away the eggs and young birds, finding the older ones so tame that they had to be lifted off the nests. This vast aviary would have been depopulated long ere this, but that the Perce magistrates passed a law forbidding the ascent of the Rock.

VILLEBON ON THE ST. JOHN.

Not long after the events related in the last chapter, and while, as we may suppose, the hapless, helpless Acadians were brooding over their misfortunes, a French ship, the *Union*, sailed into Port Royal harbor. She had on board a notable Frenchman named Villebon, a brother of Menneval. He had come to place himself at the head of the Indian tribes. The vessel also brought out fifty stand of arms, some recruits for the garrison, and a quantity of presents for the savages. Villebon, having been told the story of the capture of the fort, and learning the English were still on the coast, and might return if they heard of his arrival, he, after consultation, decided that his best plan was to proceed to the River St. John, and occupy the old fort at Jemseg. He accordingly crossed to St. John, and sailed up that river to prepare Fort Jemseg for the goods entrusted to his care, leaving orders for the *Union* to follow in a few days.

Scarcely had Villebon left Port Royal when two "piratical ships" made their appearance before the fort, the crews of which landed and commenced to pillage the place. Near the entrance of the basin on the Granville side, they burned sixteen houses; at the fort they set fire to twelve houses, slaughtered the cattle, hanged some of the inhabitants, and deliberately burned up one family whom they had shut up to prevent their escape. Seizing all the plunder they could

gather, including the *Union* and her cargo, the "piratical vessels" sailed away.

In this emergency Villebon acted with vigor and discretion. Having collected the Indians, he told them of the capture of the presents intended for them, exhorted them to be faithful to the French King, and promised to embark for France at once; and would return again in the Spring with better presents than those he had lost. To this they replied that Onanthio (the name they had given to the King of France), having already supplied them with ammunition, they were perfectly satisfied, and that they were more grieved for the loss of the vessel and stores on his account, than for the presents destined for them; and promised that during his absence they would give a good account of the English.

At this time a squadron was fitted out against Quebec, consisting of thirty-five sail, and Sir Wm. Phipps was nominated to command the expedition. Two thousand militiamen embarked in it. The spirit and enterprise of which this expedition was the result, was remarkable, and its warlike array made the Bostonians exultant: the wildest hopes were entertained of what it was capable of accomplishing. The Boston land expedition under Winthrop, which was to await the arrival of Phipps in middle Laurentian waters after the expected capture of Quebec, arrived at Lake George and encamped on its picturesque banks: the plan of operations being for the two forces to ascend conjointly to Montreal. But an epidemic broke out among Winthrop's hastily raised corps, which speedily spread to his savage allies, and there being, too, a lack of canoes in which to transport the men, there was no alternative but to beat a retreat.

The Bostonian fleet appeared in sight of Quebec on the morning of the 16th of October. Sir William Phipps sent an officer and flag with a summons to surrender. "He was met on the shore, and led blindfold through the city, by a

long and devious course to the castle; the men on duty taking care to make as much clangor with their weapons as possible." M. de Frontenac returned the following for answer: "Tell your master that the mouths of my cannon will forthwith bear my answer to the summons he has sent me."

The batteries of the lower town soon opened on the fleet. Some of the first shots brought down the flag of Phipps' own vessel, which was fished up by the French, and afterward suspended to the ceiling of the Quebec cathedral, as a trophy, and there remained until that edifice was consumed, during the siege of 1759. Phipps bombarded the place for several days, but not making satisfactory progress, he raised the siege and returned to Boston. On the return voyage one vessel was wrecked on the desolate coast of Anticosti, where most of the crew, who afterwards reached the shore, died of cold and hunger;* other vessels foundered at sea. Both belligerents had suffered heavily, and neither had lost or gained a foot of territory. Both sides suffered a two-fold loss—the countries lost the labor of the men who formed the armies, and were heavily taxed to pay the expenses of the war. Privateers were making remunerative captures of merchant vessels on the high seas, and families on the frontier were obliged to take refuge in the towns to escape from their savage enemies. Such were the circumstances in which the campaign closed. While these dark clouds hung threateningly over the early colonists, the English were guilty of an act of treacherous folly, a deed which the emissaries of France were not slow to make use of to influence the minds of the Indians, already prejudiced against their English neighbors. Captain Chubb, commander at Pemaquid, had arranged with the Penobscot tribe for an exchange of prisoners. The In-

*Only five of this boat's crew survived the winter on the island. After the ice broke up these brave fellows started in a row boat for Boston, 900 miles distant, and after a passage of forty-two days they reached their homes in safety.

dians were induced to give up five English prisoners to him, and he promised to send to Boston for the five they desired in return. With this arrangement they appeared to be pleased, and Chubb proposed a conference in sight of the fort. It was agreed that nine of the English and nine Indians should meet unarmed at the place selected. The latter, being considerably under the influence of Chubb's liquor, did not observe that a party of soldiers had surrounded them nor were they aware that the nine Englishmen had pistols concealed about their persons. At a given signal the Indians were attacked, four of them killed and three made prisoners, only two escaping. It is needless to enlarge upon the character of the transaction, which in its consequences wrought lasting injury to the English; for the story of the treachery of Chubb, with all such instances, was told at the camp fires of every tribe from Cape Breton to Lake Superior.

At this period the English set up a claim to the territory of Acadia, and under the new charter of Massachusetts, had it annexed to that colony. By way of maintaining a jurisdiction over the country, they sent out an English ship of war to intercept the annual supply that Villebon was in the habit of receiving from France, at his fort on the St. John. This ship, the *Sorrel*, sailed from Boston with orders to cruise off St. John's harbor, and await the French vessel. The frigate appeared in due time, and a severe engagement ensued, in which the *Sorrel* was beaten off, and the French landed their stores in triumph. The *Sorrel*, reinforced by the frigate *Newport*, and another vessel, was sent upon the same service the following year. While lying in the harbor of St. John, D'Iberville, the Governor of Quebec, arrived with two men of war. The vessels immediately engaged, and the *Newport* surrendered. The others escaped under cover of a fog. Strengthened by this prize, D'Iberville and Villebon proceeded to Penobscot, where they were joined by Baron St. Castin and two hundred Penobscot Indians, and the aug-

mented force immediately invested Pemaquid. The garrison at that place, alarmed at this formidable array of force, and fearful of the consequences of falling into the hands of the savages, after a resistance, surrendered on promises of protection. On entering the fort the Indians discovered one of their people in irons, and so exasperated were they at the account he gave of his sufferings, that they fell upon the English and murdered several before D'Iberville could take measures to prevent them. A fleet was immediately sent out from Boston to intercept the French, but they had demolished the fort that had cost so much, and were already in full retreat.

New England at once determined upon measures of retaliation, and a force of five hundred men, under command of Captain Church, was sent from Boston into Acadia. He sailed direct for Beaubassin, which has since received the name of Cumberland. The terrified inhabitants, as usual, abandoned their houses and fled to the woods on the first approach of the enemy. During the pursuit, Bourgeois, one of the most respected Acadians, surrendered, and demanded protection for himself and family, which was granted. Bourgeois was desired to give notice to his countrymen that all who should return would be well received. Many of them were induced to return, but no sooner had they assembled than they were ordered to "join the force of Captain Church in pursuit of the savages." On their refusing to comply, their houses were burned, their dikes broken down, their cattle and sheep destroyed, and their effects plundered by the soldiers. Charlevoix informs us that "Bourgeois produced a proclamation of Sir William Phipps, in which assurance of protection was given to the inhabitants so long as they remained faithful subjects to King William, and that Church being made acquainted with it, had ordered their property to be respected; but that while he and his officers were being entertained by Bourgeois, the soldiers, who were

dispersed among the inhabitants, conducted themselves as if they had been in a conquered country." He also adds "that many of the people, distrusting his promises, refused to surrender, and that it was fortunate they did so, for an order of Frontinac, the Governor of Canada, having been soon after discovered posted up in the chapel, the English treated them as rebels,—set fire to the church, and reduced to ashes the few houses they had previously spared." It is difficult to conceive what provocation these simple Acadians had given to merit such harsh treatment—thus stripped of home and the necessaries of life, on the verge, too, of an Acadian winter; or how they could be termed *rebels*, when, within less than a century, they had changed masters no less than fourteen times.

During the return voyage to Massachusetts, Church was met by a reinforcement under Hawthorne, and the expedition was turned back to besiege Villebon's fort at Nashwaak, on the St. John. The attack, which might have been successful had it been attempted a month before, was doomed to failure. Villebon had industriously added to his forces, improved and strengthened the defenses of the place, and was prepared for the affray. On the 16th of October Villebon heard that the English were in force below; and on the evening before the enemy's ships hove in sight, he addressed the garrison in stirring terms, and encouraged them to resist to the last. Early in the morning the English made their appearance, and commenced the erection of a battery on the south side of the river opposite the fort. A lively cannonade soon commenced, which was only ended by the approach of night. Villebon prevented the English from lighting fires by discharges of grape, and they suffered much from cold. The cannonade was continued through the following day, and at night the English lighted fires over a large extent of ground and decamped under cover of the darkness. No one has been able to explain the cause of so

feeble an effort, which may have been owing to dissensions between Church and Hawthorne. With this ended the war generally known as King William's War, which lasted from 1690 to 1696. By the treaty of Ryswick, Acadia was once more restored to France.



FALL OF PORT ROYAL.

The Peace of Ryswick was scarcely proclaimed, ere the French manifested their intention to make themselves sole masters of the fishery, and to exclude the English from any part of the territory to the eastward of the Kennebec. In pursuance of these claims, Villebon sent a message to the Governor of Massachusetts to the following purport:—"I am expressly ordered by his Majesty to maintain the bounds between New England and us, which are from Kennebec River to its mouth, leaving the course of the river free to both nations, and I desire that you will no longer consider the Indians there your subjects. I am informed that you have divers fishermen on the coast, and that you permit your people to trade in the French ports. You may rest assured, sir, that I shall seize all the English, who shall be found fishing or trading there, for you cannot be ignorant that it is plainly prohibited by the treaty between the two crowns, a copy of which you, yourself, forwarded to me. Monsieur de Bonaventure has also sent you some of your fishing vessels which he has taken, and acquainted you that if they presume to trade on the coast he shall consider them as lawful prizes."

In the year 1700 the French government decided to abandon the forts on the St. John, but before the order could be carried into effect Villebon died. He was succeeded by Villieu, who was the following year relieved of his command

by M. de Brouillon, formerly Governor of Placentia. This last named governor commenced his administration with a great show of zeal and activity, demolished the fort at the mouth of the St. John River, recommended the fort at Port Royal to be built of stone, advocated the erection of a redoubt at the entrance of the Basin, besides proposing other plans for the better establishment of the French authority in Acadia. What is now known as Queen Anne's War was begun in 1702, otherwise called the war of the Spanish succession, which involved many of the leading nations of Europe. England and France could not remain long at war without their respective colonies in America finding a pretext to open hostilities with one another. Brouillon was accused of encouraging piracies against the English shipping,—La Hève being made the headquarters of the freebooters,—and of using the proceeds in instigating the natives to acts of hostility against the people of New England.

An armament was fitted out in Boston, comprising three men-of-war and fourteen transports, having on board 550 soldiers, under command of Colonel Church, for the purpose, as Haliburton puts it, "of ravaging the French settlements in Nova Scotia!" The instructions given to Church by the Massachusetts authorities, after authorizing him to take command of the force destined for Nova Scotia, direct him "to have prayers on ship daily, to sanctify the Sabbath, and to forbid all profane swearing and drunkenness." The next article authorizes him to burn, plunder, destroy, and get spoil wherever he could effect a landing. The Puritan fathers also offered a bounty of one hundred pounds for each male Indian over twelve years of age, if scalped: one hundred and five pounds if taken prisoner; fifty pounds for each woman and child scalped, and fifty pounds when brought in alive! *

*The degree of refinement which characterized these early wars, is further illustrated in the following: "Villieu, at one time Governor of

Church first sailed up the river Penobscot, where he took a number of prisoners, among them the daughter of Baron St. Castin and her children. From thence the boats proceeded up the Passamaquoddy, destroying the settlements and perpetrating several acts of outrage upon the unoffending inhabitants. Here the expedition was divided—the men-of-war steering for Port Royal, and the whale boats for Minas (now Horton). At the latter place the inhabitants offered some resistance, and the English thereupon totally destroyed the populous village, plundered the inhabitants, broke down the dikes, made several prisoners, and joined the main force in the harbor of Port Royal. After some ineffectual attempts to carry the place, the project was abandoned, Church evidently having little taste for hard fighting, and so bore away to Chignecto, which country he had ravaged eight years before, and whose reduction involved less military force. Here he burned twenty houses, killed one hundred and twenty horned cattle, and did the unfortunate inhabitants all the harm in his power. Then he returned to Boston to receive the thanks of the Legislature for his services.

An incident illustrating the character of these expeditions is given in Church's own words, in his dispatch to the Governor. A small island on Passamaquoddy Bay was invaded by the forces under Col. Church, at night. There was no resistance, the inhabitants all gave up. "But, looking over a little run, I saw something look black just by me: stopped and heard a talking; stepped over and saw a little hut or wigwam, with a crowd of people round about it, which was contrary to my former directions. I asked them what they were doing? They replied, there were some of the enemy in a house, and would not come out. I asked what house?

Acadin, presented to Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, a string of English scalps;—a fine present for one French gentleman to bestow upon another."

They said, 'a bark house.' I hastily bid them pull it down, *and knock them on the head, never asking whether they were French or Indians, they being all enemies alike to me.*"

There were some in Boston who did not approve of the acts of the Squaw-killer, for his historian says, "after Church came home, some evil-minded person did their endeavors to injure him for taking away life unlawfully."

In the year 1704 an expedition from Canada, consisting of French and Indians, under Major Rouville, attacked Deerfield, on the Connecticut River, applied the torch, killed forty of the inhabitants, and carried one hundred and twelve away to the wilderness. Among the captives was Rev. John Williams, the village pastor, whose little daughter, after a long residence with the Indians, became attached to them, and married a Mohawk Chief. The minister's wife, and some others, who were not able to travel as rapidly as suited the Indians, were killed. On his arrival at Canada, Mr. Williams was treated with respect by the French, and was afterward ransomed and allowed to return home. The chief object of the attack on Deerfield seems to have been to carry off the bell that hung in Williams' Church. That bell was purchased, the previous year, for the Church of Saut St. Louis, at Caughwanaga, near Montreal. The vessel in which it was brought over from Havre was captured by a New England privateer, and the bell was purchased for the Deerfield meeting-house. Father Nicholas, of Caughwanaga, accompanied the expedition, and the bell was carried in triumph to its original destination, where it still remains.

Brouillon, the Acadian Governor, went to France in 1704, and Bonaventure was left in command. Brouillon's time in France seems to have been occupied in justifying his own conduct while in Acadia, and in making accusations against others. He set out on his return late in the following summer, but died on board ship off the harbor of Chebucto. His body was committed to the deep, but his heart was car-

ried to Port Royal, where it was interred with military honors. Such was the hatred with which this man was held, that it was said of him "the public were unable to conceal their joy at his loss."

In 1706, M. de Subercase was appointed Governor of Acadia, and arrived at Port Royal. He proved the opposite in character, to Brouillon, and was much beloved; for the first time, in many a long year, harmony reigned in the colony. Says Hannay: "The ponderous volumes which contain the correspondence from Acadia at that period, afford a curious illustration of the condition of a small community, isolated from the rest of the world, outside of the great movements of the age, and whose main business seems to have been to plot against and slander each other. The French minister, who had charge of Acadian affairs, received letters from governors, judges, officers, priests and private citizens, and there is scarcely a letter from the time of Menneval to that of Subercase, which is not filled with complaints of the conduct of others. One of the most common complaints against the Governors of Acadia, was, that they traded secretly with the English....But no class of men in Acadia had more charges perferred against them than the priests.....No doubt a false zeal frequently led them to mingle in temporal affairs with which they had no concern, but every one will desire to believe that their conduct was generally exemplary, and that they had the real interests of the people at heart."

There was great activity at this time among the privateers, both French and English, and the number of prisoners on each side became burdensome. Frequent voyages were made between Boston and Port Royal for the exchange of prisoners; it was surmised that this was made a pretext for carrying on an unlawful trade with the enemy. Even Governor Dudley did not escape being accused of implication, but was exonerated by the Legislature.

Governor Dudley now determined to show his zeal for the interests of New England by a strong effort for the capture of Port Royal, and with it all Acadia. Massachusetts had long coveted this beautiful country, and therefore procured the assent of the parent government to raise a force sufficient for the conquest, also a pledge that if conquered, it should never again be ceded to France.

Accordingly, in 1707, one thousand men were raised in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, and the chief command given to Colonel March; and on the 17th of May of that year, they arrived before Port Royal, under convoy of two men-of-war. Subercase proved himself an active and efficient officer, and so disposed the forces under his command as to check the English in every attack. In this he was assisted by a son of Baron St. Castin, who was there to command the Indians. The siege was abandoned after it had lasted eleven days, during which no perceptible progress had been made.

Col. March wrote from Canso of the failure of the expedition, tidings of which had already reached Massachusetts. Gov. Dudley was determined that another effort should be made before so fine a body of troops should be allowed to disperse. He ordered that no soldier should land from the transports under pain of death; and sending March one hundred new recruits, with three commissioners to supervise the conduct of the expedition, directed an immediate return to Port Royal. The place was the second time invested on the 20th of August. The English "unfortunately fell into several ambuscades, in which they suffered severely;" a violent epidemic disorder broke out among them, and it was determined in general council, to make good their retreat before they were so weakened as to render embarkation a matter of difficulty. On the 1st of September the New England troops embarked, and sailed away from Port Royal, where they twice met with such a mortifying want of

success. But, as the sequel will show, the warlike spirit of the Puritan fathers was still undaunted.

During the year 1709, Captain Vetch, who had been frequently to Acadia on trading voyages, went to England to solicit the aid of the parent government in reducing that province. He returned home with the assurance that a fleet would be sent out to co-operate with the colonies in an expedition against Quebec, and bore a command from Her Majesty, Queen Anne, that they should enlist troops for that purpose. Five regiments were to be sent out from England, with a squadron of ships, to be joined by twelve hundred colonists at Boston,—the united forces to proceed against Quebec; an additional force of fifteen hundred men were to march by way of the lakes and attack Montreal. The latter force advanced to the place of rendezvous on Lake Champlain, and the New England troops were assembled at Boston at the appointed time, but the promised English fleet did not appear. The vessels had been put in readiness, and the British regulars were on the point of embarking, when the exigencies of the European war diverted the troops to another destination. Great was the disappointment to the Colonists, and the necessary expenses of the proposed expedition bore heavily upon the impoverished state of their finances.

Another expedition was resolved upon the following year, having for its object the reduction of Port Royal, which was deemed a more feasible enterprise than the capture of Quebec. Accordingly, on the 18th of September, a squadron of four men-of-war, and twenty-nine transports, set sail from Boston under command of Col. Nicholson, arriving at Port Royal on the 24th of the same month.

The troops consisted of one regiment of Marines from Europe, and four regiments of Provincials raised in New England, but commissioned by the Queen, and armed at the royal expense. At the entrance of the harbor of Port Roy-

al one of the transports was wrecked, and twenty-six men, with all the stores on board, were lost. The English forces were landed without opposition. Subercase, the Governor, had but two hundred and sixty effectual men, and most of these he was afraid to trust out of the fort, lest they should desert to the English. As Col. Nicholson was marching up toward the fort, several soldiers were shot by the inhabitants from behind fences; and for several days, while preliminaries to the siege were being made, the French continued to throw shot and shell from the fort.

On the 29th, Subercase sent out a flag of truce, praying that the ladies of the fort might leave to a place of greater safety. By the 1st of October, three batteries were opened within one hundred yards of the fort. The English continued to work in their trenches, though severely cannonaded by the French, until the evening of the 10th, when they began to fire bombs, two of which fell into the fort. During the night fifty of the inhabitants and several soldiers deserted: those remaining presented a petition to Subercase, asking him to surrender. He resolved to call a council of his officers to consider what should be done. "A council of war never fights;" a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and the terms of capitulation soon settled. On the 13th of October the articles were signed, surrendering the fort to Her Majesty, Queen Anne of Great Britain. The garrison were permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, with drums beating and colors flying, and were to be provided with transportation to Rochelle, in France. The officers were allowed to take with them all their effects; the Canadians had leave to retire to Canada; the furniture and ornaments of the chapel were to be respected, and the inhabitants within cannon shot of the fort were to be protected. This article was probably intended to protect those of the people who had fired upon the English on their approach to the fort, and afterward became the subject of con-

siderable controversy. The English lost only fifteen men in their expedition, beside the twenty-six who were wrecked on the transport. Col. Nicholson left a garrison of two hundred and fifty volunteers, under the command of Col. Vetch, who had been appointed Governor of that country, and returned with the fleet and army to Boston, where he arrived on the 26th of October. Thus was the tri-color of France torn from the fortress of Port Royal, above which it had waved for more than a century, but over which it was destined never more to float as an emblem of authority. The expense incurred by New England amounted to £23,000, which was afterward reimbursed by Parliament.

The easy success of the English forces at Port Royal caused an expedition to be fitted out against Canada. Fifteen hundred colonial troops, exclusive of a large body of Indians, were placed under command of Colonel Nicholson, who was to march against Montreal. At the same time an English fleet, comprising fifteen men-of-war, and forty transports containing 5,000 veteran soldiers, under Admiral Walker, was to operate against Quebec. During a terrible August storm, while they were ascending the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the fleet drove down on the Egg Islands. The frigates were saved from the shoals, but several transports were wrecked with 1,500 men on board, and 900 brave fellows, who had passed scathless through the sanguinary battles of Blenheim and Ramillies, perished miserably on the desolate shores of the St. Lawrence. This disaster was the cause of the total failure of the expedition.*

* The French ships, which visited the islands soon after, found the wrecks of eight vessels, and the bodies of nearly three thousand drowned persons, lying along the shore. They recognized whole companies of the Queen's Guards, distinguished by their red coats; and several Scotch families, among them seven women, all clasping each other's hands. The French colony could but recognize a Providence which watched singularly over its preservation, and which, not satisfied with rescuing it from

Colonel Vetch sent a deputation to Vandrieul, Governor of Canada, with the message "that if he did not restrain the savages under his control from further incursions into New England, the English would take revenge for every act of hostility committed by them upon the defenseless Acadians now in their power." The French Governor returned answer—"if these threats were put in execution, nothing should prevent him from delivering up every English prisoner into the hands of the Indians."

The court of France at last began to awaken to a sense of the real value of the province they had lost. The King could not find a person willing to take charge of an expedition for its recovery. Vandrieul had appointed Baron St. Castin* to the command of the Indians of Nova Scotia, with instructions to preserve their loyalty to the French King as far as possible. This personage raised a considerable body of Indians, and had successfully attacked an English party in what is now New Brunswick, and was marching to the attack of Port Royal. The commanding British officers at Port Royal, took three priests and five of the principal inhabitants and shut them up as hostages, proclaiming that "upon the least insurrectionary movement, he would execute these innocent persons in retaliation." As an additional measure of safety, he undertook to force the dispersed inhabitants to swear allegiance to the English. This was peculiarly distasteful to the French Acadians, and they resolved not to submit. A body of sixty men was sent out under Captain Pigeon, to enforce this regulation, and reduce the disaffected to obedience. They had not proceeded far when they were surprised by a body of Indians, who

the greatest danger it had yet run, had enriched it with the spoils of an enemy whom it had not the pains to conquer; hence they rendered him most heartfelt thanks. (Charlevoix.)

*This was the Baron's half-breed son.

"killed the fort major, the engineer, and all the boat's crew, and took from thirty to forty English prisoners. The scene of this disaster is almost twelve miles from the fort, on the road to Halifax, and is still called Bloody Creek. The success of this tempted the inhabitants to take up arms, and five hundred of them, with as many Indians under St. Castin, embodied themselves to attack the fort." But not having an efficient officer to take chief command, they had to abandon the enterprise and disperse. On the 11th of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed, and France and England were once more at peace. By this treaty it was stipulated that "all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, comprehended within its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis," be yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain and to her crown forever.

TROUBLES OF THE FRENCH.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia and Newfoundland were ceded to England,—France retaining Cape Breton, Prince Edward's and other islands in the St. Lawrence Gulf. The way was thus left clear for France to erect other military establishments by way of retaining practical control of the fisheries of those waters,—an opportunity of which she was not slow to avail herself in the founding of a great fortress on the shores of English Harbor, on the island of Cape Breton, which afterward became the widely-famed and potent Louisbourg.

The population of "Acadia" at this time was in all about two thousand five hundred souls. It was composed, almost exclusively, of French who were strict adherents to the Roman Catholic faith. By the stern decrees of war, military domination had passed into the hands of a foreign power, and the French of Nova Scotia beheld a fortress in their very midst, that had been built by French capital, now garrisoned with English soldiers, to whom they must bow submissively, and aid in their support. This was at that period of the world's history when the sanguinary wars of religion were fiercely raging, and when the bitter jealousies and antagonisms of the contending factions were at their height. Both Romanist and Protestant professed to believe that they would do God service by destroying all who would not give assent to their form of religion—which contributed

an increased rancor to the contest. We have, then, a Protestant English garrison holding military domination by conquest over a French Catholic subjugated people; that there should be a lack of unity of feeling and interest, and a mutual distrust and hatred of one another, is not strange.

Though nominally the subjects of Great Britain, the Acadians could not be expected to forget the land of their fathers. A continued intercourse was kept up between Annapolis, Minas, Chignecto, and the adjacent settlements,—each locality having its Popish priest, who was largely entrusted with the guidance of their temporal affairs.

The influence that these priests exercised over the simple Acadians is admitted to have been very great. They acted under orders from a central power at Quebec; but a full cognizance of the nature of the instructions that emanated from the Cathedral of Notre Dame was never given to the outside world. Our information is derived mostly from English sources, poisoned with a jealousy of conflicting interests, and prejudiced by a belief in Papist perfidiousness. There is abundant evidence that some of the charges against the priests were well founded; and the English seem to have adopted the principle that the guilty in part, were as a natural sequence, guilty of the whole. The mistaken zeal and shortsightedness of such of the clergy as, forgetful of their higher calling, stooped to instigate measures against the English, only wrought injury and final ruin on the people for whom they plotted.

A short time subsequent to the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, Queen Anne wrote to Nicholson, then Governor of Nova Scotia, as follows:—

“Whereas our good brother the most Christian King, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galley, such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion; We being willing to show by some mark of our favor towards

his subjects how kind we take his compliance therein, have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under our government in Acadia and Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late Treaty of Peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other of our subjects do, or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing this shall be your warrant."

When Port Royal was taken it was stipulated that such as lived within a league of the fort should remain upon their estates two years, on taking the oath of allegiance. By the treaty of Utrecht the subjects of the King of France were to "have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain, and to be subject to the King of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."

In 1714 Governor Nicholson proposed to the Acadians either to become subjects of the British Crown, or remove in compliance with the terms of the treaty. Upon every application that was made to them for that purpose they firmly refused to take the oath of allegiance. They however expressed their readiness to accept an oath that would not require them to take up arms either against the King of England or France, or against the Indians.

The following is from Paul Mascarene to British Lords of Trade: "Canso Island has been found so convenient and advantageous for catching and curing codfish, that of late it has been the resort of numbers of the English, as it was of French before the seizure made by Captain Smart. This stroke was so grievous to the French, who were con-

cerned in this loss, that seeing that they could not obtain the satisfaction they demanded, they have been at work all this spring, and incited the Indians to assemble at Canso and to surprise the English who were securely fishing there, and having killed and wounded some, drove the rest off the sea. By means of this hurry and confusion whilst the Indians were plundering the dry goods, the French were robbing the fish and transporting it away, till the English, having recovered themselves, sent after them, and seized several of their shallops laden with English fish and other plunder, and made the robbers prisoners."

Governor Phillips, residing at Annapolis, writing to Board of Trade, complains "that the French councils tend toward exciting the Indians into a general war, but that the Indians (who are not without cunning) cannot be brought to a declaration of war because the French cannot openly join them and are determined to defer it to another opportunity."

On Sunday, the 25th of September, 1726, Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong met a deputation of the inhabitants of Annapolis at the Flag Bastion. His Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, "told them he was glad to see them, and hoped they had so far considered their own and their children's future advantages, that they were come with a full resolution to take the oath of fidelity like good subjects..... Whereupon, at the request of some of the inhabitants, a French translation of the oath required to be taken was read to them. Upon which, some of them desired that a clause whereby they may not be obliged to carry arms, might be inserted. The Governor told them that they had no reason to fear any such thing as that, it being contrary to the laws of Great Britain, that a Roman Catholic should serve in the army. His Majesty having so many faithful Protestant subjects first to provide for, and that all His Majesty required of them was to be faithful subjects, not to join with any enemy, but for their own interest to discover all trait-

orous and evil designs, plots and conspiracies, anywise found against His Majesty's subjects and government, and so peaceably and quietly to enjoy and improve their estates. But they upon the motion made as aforesaid still refusing, and desiring the same clause, governed by the advice of the Council granted the same to be writ upon the margin of the French translation in order to get them over by degrees. Whereupon they took and subscribed the same both in French and English."* We may add that this paper did not receive the approval of the Secretary of State, and the act of Armstrong was annulled; and also the singular fact that neither the original document nor a copy of it can be found. In consequence of this exemption they were afterwards known as the "Neutral French."

Governor Armstrong subsequently sent Captain Bennett to Minas and Ensign Phillips to Beaubassin, two of the principal settlements, to administer oaths to the inhabitants. "They are both returned," he says in his report to the Secretary of State, "with the said inhabitants' answers and resolutions not to take any oath but to their *Notre Bon Roy de France*† as they express it."

Enough has been said to show the causes at work, which were, in a quarter of a century, to end in the utter overthrow of the French people in Acadia;—the distrust of the English in the protestations of innocence on the part of the French, and the determination of the latter not to subscribe to any oath binding themselves to take up arms against their own country and kindred.

One of the most singular accusations brought against the French at that time was, that "they had told the Indians the English were the people who crucified our Savior." This story was current throughout New England at that

* Nova Scotia Archives.

† Our good King of France.

day, and the cruelties of the Indians often attributed to it. Haliburton claims there is nothing to support such a charge.

About this time there existed on the banks of the Kennebec a beautiful Indian village named Norridgewock. An aged missionary resided among them, who had been their teacher for a period of forty years. The village contained a chapel, and was defended by a rude fortification. This Romanist was highly accomplished, and his life literally one long martyrdom; being a correspondent and friend of the Governor of Canada, the English believed he might be the instigator of hostilities of the Indians. Under this impression they fitted out a force from Massachusetts, consisting of upwards of two-hundred men, with orders to attack the village. This force arrived at Norridgewock, completely taking the Indians by surprise. Charlevoix relates that the Priest Ralle, though unprepared, was unintimidated, and showed himself at once in front, in hopes of diverting the attention of the enemy to himself and saving his beloved flock by the voluntary offering of his own life. As soon as he was seen he was saluted with a great shout and a shower of bullets, and fell together with seven Indians who had rushed out of their tents to defend him with their bodies. When the pursuit had ceased, the Indians returned to find their Missionary dead at the foot of the village cross, his body perforated with balls, his scalp taken, his skull broken with blows of hatchets, his mouth filled with mud, the bones of his legs broken and otherwise mangled. The Indians buried him on the site of the chapel,* that edifice having been hewn down with its crucifix, and whatever else the assailants considered emblems of idolatry. They had likewise destroyed the buildings and pillaged the encampment. Now beneath its ruins, was interred the body of him who had the

*The bell of Father Ralle's little chapel escaped, and is still preserved in the cabinet of Bowdoin College, Maine.

evening before celebrated the rites of his religion within its walls. "The death of Ralle caused great rejoicing in Massachusetts, and when Harmon, who was senior in command carried the scalps of his victims to Boston—this string of bloody trophies, including the scalps of women and children and an aged priest—he was received as if he had been some great general, fresh from the field of victory."

A certain Captain John Lovewell, emulous of Harmon's fame as a taker of scalps, and with a patriotism fired by the large bounty offered by Massachusetts for that kind of article, gathered a band of volunteers, and commenced scalp-hunting on the borders of New Hampshire. They killed one Indian for whose scalp the company received £100. He started next year with forty men, surprised ten Indians by their camp fire at Salmon Falls, whose scalps netted £1000. In a subsequent fight he lost his own scalp, as did thirty-four of his men.*

Meanwhile the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong, at Annapolis Royal, was meeting with opposition. At a council held at his house in September, 1727, at which time the inhabitants were ordered to assemble to take the oath, an answer was read, but not being subscribed, "it was returned to the three deputies who presented it, who were ordered to attend at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, together with the inhabitants, and then adjourned the board to that time. . . . The Deputies being admitted, again presented the aforesaid paper subscribed by almost seventy of the inhabitants. . . . The Board resolved that the said paper is insolent, rebellious, and highly disrespectful to his Majesty's authority and government, that his Honor would please to tender the oaths to the inhabitants, and in case of refusal to commit the leaders to prison. It was "ordered that the three

* Hannay.



ON THE FISHING BANKS.

deputies, for their contempt and disrespect to his Majesty's government and authority, be committed to prison, and that the other inhabitants for having refused the oaths shall be debarred from fishing upon the British coasts until his Majesty's further pleasure shall be known concerning them.

Governor Phillips obtained an oath from the people of Annapolis River in the winter of 1730, of which the Lords of Trade complained as not having been explicit enough.*

Gov. Armstrong writes from Annapolis Royal to the Duke of Newcastle: "I am sorry this Province should be in such a poor condition as it is really in, after having been so long as upwards of twenty-one years (which may be said imaginary only) under the English government; for the inhabitants here being all French and Roman Catholics, are more subject to our neighbors of Quebec and Cape Breton than to his Majesty, whose government by all their proceedings (notwithstanding of their Oath of Fidelity) they seem to despise, being entirely governed by their most insolent priests, who, for the most part come and go at pleasure, pretending for their sanction the treaty of Utrecht, without taking the least notice of this Government, in spite of all endeavors used to the contrary. I must also inform your Grace that the Indians are employed in the affair, and use for an argument that although the English conquered Annapolis, they never did Minas, and other parts of the Province, and in consequence of such arguments instilled into them, they have actually robbed the gentlemen of the Colliery by Chickenectua, destroyed their house and magazine built there, through pretense of a rent due them for the land and

*The following was the form of the oath: "Je promets et Jure Sincèrement en Foi de Chretien que Je serai entierement Fidele, et Obeirai Vraiment Sa Majeste Le Roy George le Second, qui Je reconnoi pour Le Souverain Seigneur de L'Accadie ou Nouvelle Ecosse. Ainsi Dieu me Soit en Aide."

liberty of digging; being advised, as I am informed, by Governor St. Ovid, that if they permit such designs of the English to succeed, that the Province will be entirely lost."

Also a letter from the same at a later date: "Your Grace will be informed how high the French Government carries her pretensions over their Priests' obedience, and the people of the Province, being Papists, are absolutely governed by their influence. How dangerous this may prove, in time, to his Majesty's authority and the peace of the Province I know not, without we could have missionaries from some place independent of that crown, but this will prove a considerable expense which the French King bears at present with alacrity for very political reasons. It is most certain there is not a missionary neither among the French nor Indians who has n't a pension from that crown."

Still another source of trouble to the Acadian Governors seems to have arisen, the nature of which will be seen by the following extract of a letter from Paul Mascarene, now Governor at Annapolis, to the Secretary of State:—

"The increase of the French inhabitants calls for some fresh instructions how to dispose of them. They have divided the lands they were in possession of, and which his Majesty was pleased to allow them on their taking the oaths of allegiance, and now they apply for new grants, which the Governor did not think himself authorized to favor them with, as his Majesty's instructions on that head prescribe the grant of unappropriated lands to Protestant subjects only. This delay has occasioned several of the inhabitants to settle themselves on the skirts of this Province, pretty far distant from this place, notwithstanding proclamations and orders to the contrary have been often repeated, and it has not been thought advisable hitherto to dispossess them by force. If they are debarred from new possessions they must live here miserably and consequently be troublesome, or else they will continue to possess new tracts contrary to orders, or they must be made to withdraw to the neighboring French colonies of Cape Breton or Canada."

Another complaint Governor Mascarene has to make is told in the following letter to Des Enslaves, parish priest at Annapolis for many years : " You mention the spiritual to be so connected with the temporal as sometimes not to be divided. This proposition requires some explanation. Under pretence of this connection the missionaries have often usurped the power to make themselves sovereign judges and arbiters of all causes amongst the people. For example: A parishioner complains to the priest that his neighbor owes him, and the priest examines the neighbor in the way of a confession. The man denies his owing. The priest doth not stop where he should, but examines witnesses, and then decides in a judicial manner and condemns the party to make restitution ; and to oblige him thereunto refuses to administer the sacrament by which means the man is in a woful case, and must rather submit to be deprived of his goods than to incur damnation, as he believes, by not receiving absolution from the priest. Consider how this tends to render all civil judicature useless."

In 1742 it was publicly ordered that "no Romish priest of any degree or denomination shall presume to exercise any of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this his Majesty's Province."

The French Acadians in their objections to taking the oath of allegiance, gave as a reason that they were afraid of the savages, unless the English had a force at hand able to protect them. This reason has been scoffed at by some historical writers, as a specious sort of argument, that 18,000 people should be over-awed by a few hundred Indians ; asserting that this fear was the work of the French leaders, who wished to preserve the loyalty of the Acadians to the King of France. The condition of these poor inhabitants was indeed truly deplorable, whose fears and interests were continually worked upon by both the French and English powers. The following will go to show whether the fears

of the inhabitants, as to the acts of the Indians were they to take the oath, were groundless or not. It is a copy of an order to the inhabitants of Minas and vicinity (Grand Pré of Longfellow) by M. Du Vivier, Captain under Du Quesnal, commandant at Louisbourg;—

“The inhabitants of Minas are ordered to acknowledge the obedience they owe to the King of France, and in consequence are called upon for the following supplies: the parish of Grand Pré, eight horses and two men to drive them, that of the River Canard, eight horses and two men to drive them: that of Piziquid, twelve horses and three men to drive them; as also the powder horns possessed by the said inhabitants, one only being reserved for each house. The whole of the above must be brought to me at 10 o'clock on Saturday morning, at the French flag which I have had hoisted, and under which the deputies from the said parishes shall be assembled to pledge fidelity for themselves and all the inhabitants of the neighborhood who shall not be called away from the labors of the harvest. All those for whom the pledge of fidelity shall be given will be held fully responsible for said pledge, and those who would contravene the present order shall be punished as rebellious subjects, and delivered into the hands of savages as enemies of the State, as we cannot refuse the demand which the savages make for all those who will not submit themselves. We enjoin also upon the inhabitants who have acknowledged their submission to the King of France to acquaint us promptly with the names of all who wish to screen themselves from the said obedience, in order that faithful subjects shall not suffer from any incursions which the savages may make.”

The following is the reply of the deputies to the order:

To M. De Ganne:—

We, the undersigned humbly representing the inhabitants of Minas, River Canard, Piziquid, and the surrounding rivers, beg that you will be pleased to consider, that while there would be no difficulty, by virtue of the strong force

which you command, in supplying yourself with the quantity of grain and meat you and Du Vivier have ordered, it would be quite impossible for us to furnish the quantity you demand, or even a smaller, since the harvest has not been so good as we hoped it would be, without placing ourselves in great peril. We hope gentlemen that you will not plunge us and our families into a state of total loss; and that this consideration will cause you to withdraw your savages and troops from our districts. We live under a mild and tranquil government, and we have all good reason to be faithful to it.

Your very obedient servants,

JACQUES LE BLANC, and others.

Minas, October 10th, 1744.

I am willing, gentlemen, out of regard for you to comply with your demand.

DE GANNE.

October, 13th, 1744.

By a letter of the same date, Governor Mascarene writes to the deputies, highly commendatory of the action of the people of Minas and vicinity, for remaining "true to the allegiance which they owe to the King of Great Britain, their legitimate Sovereign, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made to cause them to disregard it." The people of Chignecto appear to have behaved with less loyalty, and received the following menacing notice:

Deputies of Chignecto:—

I send you these lines to inform you that I am in a position to execute what I have so often said would happen to you if you failed in the allegiance you owed to his Britannic Majesty. If you wish therefore to avoid the danger which threatens you, do as the other departments have done—send your deputies, give an account of your conduct, and show the submission to which your oath of allegiance to the gov-

ernment of the King of Great Britain binds you. In that case you shall still have in me a friend and servant.

P. MASCARENE.

The above instrument will be better understood after a few explanatory words. In March, 1744, France made a declaration of war against England. News of this event did not reach Boston until June; but intelligence was conveyed to Cape Breton much earlier, by a fast sailing vessel dispatched for that purpose. M. Du Quesnal, the Governor of the Island, had received instructions not to attempt the capture of any post in Nova Scotia until further orders, under the apprehension that such expeditions might alarm the neighboring English colonies, and cause them to retaliate on Louisbourg, then unfinished and unsufficiently garrisoned.

Du Quesnal was well aware that the English posts of Canso and Annapolis were in a ruinous condition and poorly garrisoned, and was firm in the belief that there were four thousand French Acadians ready to throw off the English yoke; he made up his mind to strike a sudden blow upon the unsuspecting English before they would have time to prepare for defense, and then trust to the effect of a brilliant victory of French arms to allay the censures of his government for his disobedience. He found an active and zealous partisan in the person of Du Vivier, a great-grandson of Charles La Tour, to whom he gave command of the expedition. The armament consisted of two sloops and several smaller vessels, with eight guns and other small arms, with about two hundred and fifty men. At Canso they were joined by two hundred Indians, which place was immediately invested. Captain Heron, the English commandant, having only one company of men in garrison, and deprived of the assistance of the man-of-war belonging to the station, with no better defense than a log block-house built

long before by the fishermen, was forced to capitulate. The garrison of eighty brave men therefore surrendered, the conditions being that they should be taken to Louisbourg, and at the expiration of a year sent either to Boston or to England. Du Vivier burned down the block-house, and returned with his plunder and prisoners to Louisbourg.

Had Du Vivier marched immediately upon Annapolis, that place must inevitably have fallen. The ramparts had been suffered to fall into the fossès, and cattle passed and repassed them at pleasure. The garrison, which had been reduced at the peace, and subsequently weakened by a detachment sent to Canso, did not exceed eighty men capable of doing duty. Not yet aware of what had taken place in Europe, the English were not a little astonished to see, early in June, a hostile force of St. John and Cape Sable Indians, to the number of three hundred, assembled before the walls of the fort, demanding a surrender of the place. They were under control of La Loutre, a French priest, who has the name of being the most determined enemy to British power that ever came to Acadia. With him was young Bellisle, a son of Anastatia St. Castin.

La Loutre informed the Governor that a reinforcement of regular troops was daily expected from Louisbourg, but that after blood was spilled it would be difficult to restrain the fury of the Indians. He advised an immediate surrender, in which case humane treatment and protection were promised; otherwise the garrison must expect an immediate storm of the place on arrival of the soldiers, and probable massacre at the hands of the savages, if defeated. The reply was "it would be soon enough to surrender when the armaments of which he spoke had arrived."

La Loutre's Indians, growing weary of waiting for the promised assistance from Louisbourg, withdrew to Minas, having burned some English houses in the neighborhood and stolen some cattle.

Hardly had La Loutre quitted Annapolis before the expectant naval division appeared in the Basin from Canso, under Du Vivier. He landed his men on the 2nd of June; the Indians of the vicinity flocking to his standard, he at once invested the fort. For four weeks he kept the place in a continual alarm, but did not venture a regular attack. In the meantime Mascarene had dispatched a vessel to Massachusetts for help; on the 3d of July, four companies of New England troops arrived; a number of artisans at work on the fort having volunteered for military duty, and having forty cannon mounted, the Governor believed himself capable of successful resistance. Du Vivier now prepared to assault the place, and offered a reward of four hundred livres to every Indian who should mount the rampart; but not prevailing upon them to make the attempt, and hearing that Mascarene contemplated a night sortie, he broke up his camp and returned to Minas. Du Vivier was severely censured for precipitately alarming the English before Canada was in a position to support the consequences of a war, and also for not marching on Annapolis immediately on the reduction of Canso. The people of that place could ill support such a body of troops, which gave rise to the correspondence already referred to. Du Vivier had not been gone many days when a large French frigate, an armed brigantine, and a sloop, appeared before Annapolis. This was a part of the naval force intended to operate in the reduction of the fort. Throughout this whole affair the French appear to have been exceedingly unfortunate: for had any two of the three bodies acted in concert, Annapolis must have fallen. Mascarene acknowledged that much of his success was due to the conduct of the French Acadians, who with a few exceptions gave no willing aid to the enemy.

CAPTURE OF LOUISBOURG.

The capture of Louisbourg was planned, and the details carried forward, by the merest novices in war, under circumstances unfavorable in the extreme; and the attempt, all things considered, would have been pronounced foolhardy and reckless by the best military minds. The complete success of the enterprise, where there were so many contingencies either of which would have proved fatal to the project, effected at so small a loss and in so brief a period, has caused the taking of Louisbourg, the "Dunkirk of America," to be rated as among the most remarkable military triumphs on record.

At this period the New England colonists were suffering severely from privateers sailing under French colors. These vessels were sent out from the port of Louisbourg; to which place they likewise retreated when pursued, or to dispose of their booty. It was, therefore, a matter of dire exigency on the part of the colonists that this naval station should be broken up,—a measure that would result in driving French privateers from American waters. The captive garrison of Canso, which had been sent home from Louisbourg, conveyed information to the Governor of Massachusetts that induced him to determine on an attempt against that place.

This hated French fortress was situated on a bay on the southern coast of the Island of Cape Breton. Its gloomy

walls gave shelter to the Jesuit; the crafty aboriginal, with his belt of scalps, fresh from his English victims, found a secure asylum there; and the gay soldier of France could here plot and scheme and draw supplies with which to carry on the war. Over the parapet was opened to the breezes the flaunting tri-color of France, waving a defiance against her competitor for the possession of the New World.

Over thirty millions of livres had been drawn from the French royal treasury, and expended on the fortifications of Louisbourg; and numerous cargoes of building stone were sent hither from France. For a quarter of a century had the government devoted its energy to the completion of the fortress; and now its sombre walls, "whose towers rose like giants above the northern seas," menaced the authority of the military rival of France. The town was more than two miles in circuit, and was surrounded by a rampart of stone from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch in front eighty feet wide. There were six bastions and eight batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred cannon, and eight mortars. Two additional batteries—one at the entrance of the harbor and the other on a high cliff opposite—contributed to the strength of the place. The citadel was in the gorge of the King's Bastion. In the centre of the town were the stately stone church, the nunnery, and the hospital of St. Jean de Dieu. The streets crossed each other at right angles, and communicated with the wharves by five gates in the wall next the harbor. The houses were constructed, partly of wood and partly of stone or brick, and partook of the general substantial appearance of the place.

Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, must be accredited as the originator of the grand scheme for the reduction of this almost impregnable fortress. In the autumn succeeding the capture of Canso [1744], Shirley had written to the British ministry, making known his plans and soliciting assistance: he conjectured that by surprising the place early

in the spring before their succors had arrived from France, it would fall before a determined attack. Without waiting a reply from Great Britain, Shirley communicated his project to the general court, under an oath of secrecy. The scheme appeared so wild and visionary to most of the members, that it was rejected; but a petition fortuitously arriving from the merchants of Boston, Salem and Marblehead, complaining of the great injuries they had received from the privateers harboring at Louisbourg, Shirley was enabled to have the vote reconsidered, which was finally carried by a majority of one voice. Circulars were immediately addressed to the colonies as far south as Pennsylvania, requesting their assistance, and that an embargo be laid on all their ports. All excused themselves from taking a part in so desperate a venture, except Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. The latter State missed its share in the glory of the affair, however, by the tardy arrival of the three hundred soldiers it had undertaken to contribute.

Four thousand and seventy troops were enlisted, victualled and equipped, in two months' time, and early in March this force was assembled in Boston, ready to embark. Of this number Massachusetts contributed three thousand two hundred and fifty men, Connecticut five hundred and sixteen, and New Hampshire three hundred and four. The four colonies furnished thirteen armed vessels carrying in all two hundred cannon. New York contributed artillery, and Pennsylvania sent provisions, in aid of the project. Governor Shirley applied to Commodore Warren, commander of the fleet on the West India Station, soliciting his assistance and co-operation: that commander declined to act on the grounds of having no orders from England, and that the expedition was wholly a Provincial affair, undertaken without the assent, and perhaps without the knowledge, of the Ministry. This was a severe disappointment to Shirley, but, concealing the information from the troops, on the 4th

of April the whole were embarked, and the expedition bore away for Canso.

The command of the armament was given to William Pepperell, a Militia Colonel, of Maine, a man of agreeable manners and unblemished character, and very popular throughout New England.

This remarkable enterprise partook greatly of the nature of a religious crusade. In waging war against these Papists, the Provincials thought they were doing God service. George Whitefield, one of the founders of Methodism, was then in New England, animating the people with his impassioned eloquence, and to him they applied for a motto to inscribe on the banner of the expedition. Whitefield selected the following: "*Nil desperandum Christo duce*,"—We despair of nothing Christ being our leader. A chaplain of one of the regiments carried on his shoulders a hatchet, with which, he proclaimed, it was his intention to destroy the images in the Papist chapels. Previous to sailing, religious services were held in all of the churches throughout New England, invoking the blessing of the Almighty on the undertaking, and committing to His keeping their fathers and brothers who were embarked in the hazardous enterprise. The whole affair was inaugurated in a manner so extraordinary, and rested so much on fortune for its success, that in no way can we explain their action other than that they believed the God of Battles would signally bless an undertaking, having His own glory for its prime object. Not one of those composing the expedition, from the highest to the lowest, knew how to conduct a siege, and few had ever heard a "cannon fired in anger;" yet they abounded in the wildest enthusiasm, and even went so far as to enter into preliminaries for celebrating a triumphal return.

Providence smiled on them from the start. They arrived at Canso, the place of rendezvous, early in April. The entire coast of Cape Breton was securely blocked by a barrier

of floating ice: it was certain no intimation of the intended attack had been received at Louisbourg. A richly laden vessel from Martinique, thus early bound with supplies for the fortress, fell an easy victim to the Provincials. A few days later, four war vessels were descried far out at sea.—All was in a tumult and alarm, and the vessels in the harbor were got ready for action. As the strangers drew near, the broad pennant of Commodore Warren was made out, flying at the mast-head of the *Superb*, the flag-ship of the squadron. Warren, subsequent to his refusal to Shirley, had received orders from England to proceed directly to North America, and concert measures for his Majesty's service. Learning from a fisherman that the fleet had sailed from Boston, he made all haste to join it at Canso. A conference was held with Pepperell, and it was arranged that Warren should cruise in front of Louisbourg, and intercept all vessels going there. Here he was joined in the course of a few weeks by six more British war ships which happened on the coast, when he found himself in command of a formidable fleet of four ships of the line and six frigates. Other precautional measures were taken, which were so effectual that, when on the 30th of April, the New England flotilla arrived in Gabarus Bay, they were so entirely unexpected that great consternation prevailed in the fortress and town. Cannon were fired, bells were rung, and dismay was exhibited in every movement in the hostile camp.

The French sent out a detachment to obstruct an attempt of the English to land, but Pepperell deceived them by a clever ruse, and landed his men higher up the bay, who drove the French party into Louisbourg. That day the English landed two thousand men, and during the following, the remainder safely reached the shore. Under cover of darkness, Colonel Vaughan, of New Hampshire, made a circuit of the works, to the rear of the Royal Battery north of the city; setting fire to the storehouses behind it, filled

with pitch and tar, the sulphurous smoke so frightened the garrison, who thought the whole English force was upon them, that they fled after first spiking their guns. This battery was immediately occupied, and its thirty cannon turned on the town with terrible effect, within which almost every shot lodged, several falling into the roof of the citadel. The troops were employed for fourteen successive nights in drawing cannon from the landing place to the camps, through a morass. The soldiers constructed sledges, as the ground was too soft to permit the use of wheels, and, with straps on their shoulders, dragged the ponderous guns along, sinking to their knees in the mud. This work could be done only in the night or in foggy weather, the place being in full view of the town and within reach of its guns. By the close of that month the besiegers had completed a line of trenches, erected five fascine batteries mounted with sixteen cannon and several mortars, which had destroyed the western gate of the city and made an evident impression on its circular battery. Five unsuccessful attacks were made upon the fortifications on the island, in which the assailants lost a number of men ; a safer plan of silencing it was carried out of erecting a battery on Light-House Point, which enfiladed the Island Battery, rendering it untenable. In the meantime, the *Vigilant*, a French seventy-four gun ship, unaware of the presence of an enemy, had sailed into the very jaws of Warren's fleet. The prize was laden with a great quantity of military stores, and five hundred and sixty men. This capture proved very opportune to the allied forces, as it not only added to the English naval power, but furnished them with a variety of supplies of which they had been very deficient.

Commodore Warren proposed conveying information of this event to the Governor of the fort, and inducing the captive commander of the *Vigilant* to certify it himself. Some of the English prisoners, it was alleged, had been treated

with severity; the French Marquis was requested to visit the various ships on the station, and if satisfied with the treatment of his countrymen in the hands of the English, to address a letter to Governor Du Chambon, entreating similar usage for those whom the fortunes of war had thrown into his hands. To this he readily consented, and the following letter was sent by a flag of truce into Louisbourg next day:

“On board the *Vigilant*, a prisoner, June 18th, 1745;

[Translation.]

“Herewith I send you, Sir, the copy of a letter, written to me by Mr. Warren, Commander of the squadron, who informs me that the French have treated some English prisoners with cruelty and inhumanity. I can scarcely believe it, since it is the intention of the King, our master, that they should be well treated on every occasion. You are to know that on the 30th of May, I was taken by the squadron as I was about to enter your harbor, and it is fitting you should be informed that the Captains and officers treat us not as prisoners, but as their good friends, and take a very particular care that my officers and equipage should want for nothing. To me it seems just you should treat them in the same manner, and see that they be punished who act otherwise, and offer any insult to those whom you make prisoners.

Yours, &c.,

DE LA MAISON FORTE.

To Du Chambon,
Governor of Louisbourg.

As Warren surmised, this intelligence had the effect of inducing the French to consider the propriety of a surrender. The French garrison were mutinous, and could not be trusted outside the fort. The erection of a battery on Light House Cliff, together with the preparations which were making for a combined assault by sea and land, brought matters to a crisis: negotiations were opened, and on the 16th of June, the fortress of Louisburg capitulated. Upon

entering the works, the stoutest hearts were appalled at viewing its strength, and the terrible slaughter which must have befallen the English had they attempted to carry the place by assault. The garrison, numbering 650 veteran troops, 1310 militia, the crew of the *Vigilant*, and the principal inhabitants of the town, in all upwards of four thousand persons, engaged they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies, and being embarked on board of fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochfort.

A swift sailing ship carried the news to Boston of the glorious triumph the sons of New England had won, and well might they rejoice, for history records no parallel. That a band of untrained artisans and husbandmen, working after a plan of operations drawn up by a lawyer, and commanded by a merchant, should capture a fortress it had taken thirty years to build, and defended by veteran troops, was so wonderful as to astonish all Europe. Boston and London, and all the chief cities of England and America were illuminated. The batteries of the London Tower fired salutes, and King George II made Pepperell a baronet, and Warren a rear-admiral. Pepperell attributed his success, not to his artillery or Warren's line-of-battle ships, but to the prayers of New England, daily arising from every village in behalf of the absent army.

It is remarkable that a train of fortuitous circumstances should have succeeded one another, any one of which, had it been otherwise, would have brought disaster on the expedition. The garrison of the place had been so mutinous that the Governor could not trust them to make a sortie, otherwise he might have repeatedly surprised and broken up the English camp. The French were in want both of provisions and stores, and those sent to them had been captured at the mouth of the harbor by the hostile fleet. The French could form no idea of the number of their assail-

BLOCK-HOUSE.



ants, and the English prisoners, as if by a preconcerted understanding, represented the number infinitely greater than it was. During the forty-nine days that the siege lasted, the weather was remarkably fine; but the day succeeding the surrender it became foul, the rain falling incessantly for ten days, during which time fifteen hundred of the Provincials were attacked with dysentery. Had the soldiers been stationed in the trenches, and exposed to the rains, the mortality would have been fearful. At the time the transports sailed from Boston there was no prospect of aid from the navy; but circumstances providentially brought together every British ship of war then on the American Continent and Islands, to which, if we add the captured French vessels, a formidable fleet was the result. But these circumstances must not be construed as lessening the merit of the man who planned, or of the soldiery whose valor was rewarded by so signal a victory.

The capture of Louisbourg, while it added lustre to the military fame of England, at the same time aroused all the warlike potencies of the French. Indeed, so great were the preparations immediately entered into by France to regain possession of her American stronghold, and to strike a blow at her English rival by the destruction of her New England colonies, that it seemed the sovereignty of Great Britain in the New World would be annihilated.

Early the following season [1746], the Duke D'Anville was sent out with an armament consisting of forty ships of war, fifty-nine transports, and thirty-five hundred men, together with forty thousand muskets for the use of the French and Indians in Canada. D'Anville was ordered to retake and dismantle Louisbourg; thence to proceed against Annapolis, which he was to recapture and garrison; he was next directed to destroy Boston, ravage the whole American coast, and pay a visit to the West Indies. Thus it will be seen that the British Colonies in America, by their zealous par-

ticipation in the movement that led to the fall of Louisbourg, had diverted the vengeance of France upon their own heads; and they were likely to be put to the necessity of coping alone with this formidable French armada, England having given notice of her inability or indisposition to furnish either men or vessels to assist her colonies at this critical juncture. Though alarmed at the prospect, the New Englanders were not dismayed; and the most vigorous measures were adopted by way of averting the portentous calamity.

A dire fatality seemed to hang over the fortunes of the Duke D'Anville from the time he cleared the coast of France. His passage across the Atlantic, though at the mildest season of the year, was protracted and perilous in the extreme. When within less than a thousand miles of Nova Scotia, he ordered one of his ships that had been disabled to be burned. On the 1st of September he experienced a terrible gale off Sable Island, where he lost a transport and fire-ship. Here the *Ardent* and the *Mars*, both of sixty-four guns, being much injured, put back for Brest, and were captured on the coast of France, and the *Alcide*, having sustained serious damages, bore away for the West Indies. After a passage of more than ninety days he reached Chebucto (Halifax) Harbor with the *Renomme* and three transports. Four ships of war that he had previously sent as convoy to Hispaniola, with orders to immediately return to Nova Scotia, were absent. He was so disturbed at the disappointment the failure of this expedition would occasion in France, that his health was greatly affected; he died suddenly the fourth day after his arrival, some say of apoplexy—the English claim of poison. The same day Vice-Admiral D'Estournelle arrived in the harbor with four additional ships of the line. Other ships and frigates having been either destroyed or sent back, a proposition was made before a council of war to return to France. The Vice-Admiral's spirits were

oppressed to such a degree that he was thrown into a fever and attacked with delirium, during which he imagined himself a prisoner: he ran himself through the body with his sword, causing instant death. An attack on Annapolis having been agreed upon, it was found necessary to await the arrival of such of the vessels as had outlived the storm, and were daily coming into port; and also to land the men, who were suffering terribly from a scorbutic fever resulting from their long confinement on shipboard. Since the time they had left France, they had lost 1,270 men, and the rest were so sickly that they were unable to undergo the least fatigue. They were therefore landed on the southern shore of Bedford Basin, and furnished with fresh provisions from the Acadian district.

The squadron from the West Indies, that had been previously detached from the fleet as convoy, which, it was expected, would co-operate with them, had been on the coast, but D'Anville's fleet not arriving at the appointed time, it had put back to France. The Canadian troops, that had come to act in concert with the fleet, having waited beyond the specified time, had commenced their return march to Quebec. Still, the French were determined to invest Annapolis, and a detachment of regulars was sent to Minas, there to hold itself in readiness to march for Annapolis as soon as the fleet should leave Chebucto. No time was fixed for their departure, for the mortality among the people continued; they had buried over a thousand men on the shores of Bedford Basin since the formation of the encampment. Their allies, the Micmac Indians, took the infection, which spread with such alarming rapidity that one third of their number, it has been computed, fell victims to the scourge.

A vessel bound from Boston to Louisbourg, having been captured with the mails, a communication was found from Governor Shirley, with the information that Admiral Lescock, with a fleet of eighteen sail, had been ordered to the

North American station, and might be hourly expected. An express was dispatched to inform M. de Ramsay, who had already invested Annapolis, that the fleet would immediately sail thither. Three of the vessels were sent home with the Indians; the rest of the fleet numbering thirty-seven sail, put to sea and bore away for Annapolis.

They were doomed to a combination of disasters that had continued to befall them ever since the armament had left France. When off Cape Sable, they encountered another of those terrific storms, which so weakened and dispersed the vessels that they returned to Europe. Tidings of the fleet's first disaster having reached France by some of the returned vessels, two men-of-war were immediately sent out to join the fleet, with orders to take and hold Annapolis at all hazards; but the fleet had sailed three days before their arrival on the coast. M. de Ramsay, who had encamped before Annapolis, retired to Chebucto, where he placed his men in winter quarters, in readiness to operate with another French squadron which was to be sent out the following spring.

The armament of the Duke D'Anville, which had excited such high expectations in France, and which had struck such terror throughout the English colonies, by a train of fortuitous circumstances as marked as those contributing to the fall of Louisbourg, was doomed to utter failure. One half of the vessels were lost or disabled, and more than one half the troops died from disease, without having had an opportunity of measuring strength with the enemy. These continued disasters to the French were regarded by the people of New England as special interpositions of Providence in their favor. Public thanksgivings were everywhere offered; towns were illuminated; and no one doubted the right of the English to the whole of Acadia.

Though the fleet had left the coast, Ramsay still remained on the Peninsula, which caused Mascarene much uneasiness

lest the French soldiery, aided by the Acadians and Indians, should attack Annapolis. Governor Mascarene wrote frequently to Massachusetts, noting the extremely hazardous position of the English in Acadia, and soliciting help. He expressed it as his opinion that a reinforcement of one thousand troops would be sufficient to dislodge the enemy from Acadian soil. He also suggested, as a politic maneuver, by quartering the soldiers among the inhabitants, they would consume all the provisions, and so leave the country destitute of the means of supporting an invading enemy: and further, that their presence and intercourse among the Acadian French would have a good effect in confirming them in their allegiance.*

These representations had the designed effect: Massachusetts sent five hundred men, Rhode Island three hundred, and New Hampshire two hundred, for this service. The contingent from Rhode Island was shipwrecked near Martha's Vineyard; the armed vessels of New Hampshire went as far as Annapolis, but immediately returned to Portsmouth; and the troops from Massachusetts, not being able to reach Minas by water on account of the inclemency of the weather, were landed on the 4th day of December, on the shore of the Bay of Fundy. Each man was furnished with fourteen days' provisions, and the party made a winter journey to Minas, through the snow and the interminable forests, and in eight days' time they reached Grand Pré in safety, though having suffered much from cold and fatigue.

This detachment was quartered for the winter in the village of Grand Pré. Supposing the rigor of the season and the difficulty of threading the pathless woods to guarantee

* Mascarene does not seem to make provision for the Acadians after their food supplies were consumed by the soldiers; nor is it easy to see how such a plan was to operate in increasing the love of the Acadians for the conquerors of their country.

them immunity from attack, the English neglected to take proper precautionary measures, and distributed their forces in a careless manner. The French were soon apprised of this, and on the 8th of January a detachment from Chignecto, under De Villiers,* marched against the English at Minas. The distance between the two points by the ordinary route was less than a hundred miles. But the Basin was impassable for canoes on account of the floating ice. De Villiers was therefore obliged to make a long detour around its shores; and when his soldiers came to a river they were obliged to follow up its course above the influence of the tide before a crossing could be effected. While the French were toiling on through the dark fir forests, making their way on snow shoes and dragging their provisions on sledges, bivouacking at night on the snow with no roof but the sky, and mercury far below zero, the English were in their comfortable quarters at Grand Pré, living in fancied security. Some of the inhabitants told them the French were coming, but they gave no credit to the report.

Eighteen days of weary toil among the passes of the Cobequid mountains, and along the storm-beaten banks of the Shubenacadia, brought the assailants to Gaspereau. Crossing the bridge over the creek, the detachment halted and partook of refreshments; then the force, numbering six hundred, was divided into small parties, and the attack was made about three o'clock in the morning. A fearful snow storm had been raging for twenty-four hours, until the snow was four feet in depth, and the air was still full of falling flakes, which hid the advancing column from the sentinels, until they had been surprised and bayoneted. De Villiers was joined by some Acadians at Piziquid (Windsor), and was informed by them of the exact position of the English. They

* The English officer who fought against George Washington at the capitulation of Fort Necessity in 1754.

were quartered in twenty-four houses, from which the French people had retired when rumors of the invasion began to be received. De Villiers resolved to attack ten of them in which the principal officers resided, and crush them by an overpowering force:—judging that the rest would fall an easy prey when the leaders were disposed of. The English leaped out of their beds and fought desperately for their lives; but their assailants outnumbered them, and they were undressed, and many of them unarmed. A terrible slaughter was the result. Colonel Noble was killed fighting in his shirt, and with him fell four officers and seventy soldiers; sixty more of the English were wounded and nearly seventy made prisoners. A number of the English still remained, who collected in a body under Captain Morris, and made a gallant stand. They were unprovided with snow-shoes, and were impeded in their movements by the depth of the snow. They made an effort to cut their way to their vessel and provisions, which attempt proved unsuccessful. At noon a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and a capitulation afterward arranged in the following terms:—1st, they were to march off to Annapolis, with arms shouldered, drums beating and colors flying, through a lane of the enemy with rested firelocks.—2nd, they were to be allowed six days' provisions, with a pound of powder and a proportion of ball to each man.—3d, they were not to carry arms against the French in the country bordering on the Basin of Minas and Chignecto for six months. The French loss in this unequal strife was only seven killed and fourteen wounded, but De Villiers was among the latter. Such, doubtless, are the variable fortunes of war: yet the wholesale slaughter of unarmed, helpless men, just awakened from their slumbers, has none of the heroic qualities of a fair fight in the field of battle.

In the meantime Jonquiere had returned to France with the remnant of D'Anville's fleet. By great exertions he had

caused another expedition to be fitted out to operate against Nova Scotia, comprising thirty-eight sail, laden with soldiers and ordnance stores, which was put under his command. The sailing of the French fleet had been watched by their English rivals; a formidable armament under the British flag set out in chase, and forced an engagement off *Cape Finisterre*, on the 3d of May, 1747. After a well contested battle the French struck their colors; seven of their ships were captured, and almost five thousand soldiers taken prisoners. It is estimated that France lost by this catastrophe a million and a half of livres. This destroyed all hopes that Ramsey had entertained to reduce Nova Scotia. But this war was about to draw to a close. On the 7th of October terms of peace were concluded between France and England, known as the "Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle." By its stipulations the people of New England were not a little chagrined to see the fortress of Louisbourg, that had cost them so much blood and treasure to secure, again pass into the hands of the French. It mattered not though fully a thousand of brave New Englanders lay moldering under the patch of dark green-sward, in the old burying ground on Point Rochfort, who had sacrificed their lives to wrench it from French domination. "Though no monument marks the spot, yet the waves of the restless ocean, in calm or in storm, sing an everlasting requiem over the graves of the departed heroes." The restoration of Louisbourg has been pronounced an act of extreme folly, in view of its aggressiveness towards American commerce, and the fact that the peace was not likely to be lasting. Says Macaulay—"the peace was, as regards Europe, nothing but a truce; it was not even a truce in other quarters of the globe."

REFUSING THE OATH.

Nearly half a century had elapsed since the English, by the treaty of Utrecht, had come in possession of Nova Scotia; yet they had not succeeded in founding a single English settlement, nor had they added to the number of English speaking people in the Province. The French Acadians on the contrary had gone on increasing and spreading themselves over the land, until their numbers were treble what they were when the country came under the British flag. Like Pharaoh of old, who, dismayed at the increase of the Israelites, was terribly perplexed how to dispose of them, the Governor of Acadia was at a loss what to do with the French Neutrals. The garrison at Annapolis were dependent on the French for supplies, and would have nothing to live upon were the latter driven from the territory; and, furthermore, would have to garrison a country without a population in it. Besides, it was stipulated by an English law that all unoccupied lands in the Province should be reserved to English settlers; the French had therefore divided and subdivided their farms to accommodate the increasing number of families, until this was no longer practicable. The Governor did not like to see the law violated by French families settling on unoccupied lands; he was also anxious to exempt the French from the miseries attendant upon overcrowding, and escape the embarrassment of providing therefor.

Another source of annoyance was that the Acadians, in-

secure in their rights and possessions, when they received any coin for produce sold to the garrison, would not allow it to come into circulation; keeping it by them,* as was supposed, for use in case they were driven from their possessions.

Heretofore the government of the Province of Nova Scotia had been administered by the commander of the garrison at Annapolis, the province being thought too poor to support any additional expense; but in 1749, Hon. Edward Cornwallis was appointed to be Governor-in-chief of Nova Scotia. He arrived at Chebucto harbor during the summer, where he established the first permanent English colony, comprising two thousand and five hundred persons, naming it Halifax out of compliment to the Lord then at the head of the Board of Trade. The colonists comprised a large number of disbanded officers, soldiers and sailors. Halifax was henceforth the seat of government of the Province, while Annapolis, which had been the center of power, was to take a secondary part in the history of the country.

We will now endeavor to follow, with a frank and open candor, the course of events of the next fifteen years that culminated in the utter ruin of eighteen thousand pastoral French people. We will bring forward the authenticated facts bearing upon this part of our subject, and give both sides a fair and impartial hearing. The prejudices of race and religion are now happily lessened; the scenes were enacted so long ago that no fears need be entertained of of-

*Numbers buried their coin, nearly always, if tradition may be believed, in stone corks. They then prepared charts in cypher, pointing out the location of the hidden treasure. The French inhabitants, at the time of their expatriation, were driven away so suddenly, that numbers of them had no time to secure it. There are many stories current among the people in various localities, of Frenchmen returning to their former habitations, and by means of charts, mineral rods, and forms of divination known only to the initiated, securing and carrying away quantities of the hidden coin.

fending the posterity of the chief actors in the melancholy drama: and, furthermore, believing that the people of England, France and America, are at this late date willing to assume their full share of culpability in contributing to the sufferings of this unfortunate people,—we are arrived at a time when the matter may be treated with entire freedom, without the hazard of meeting with undue bigotry and prejudice. We may premise that the succeeding extracts are compiled, with few exceptions, from English sources, and may naturally be expected to have a bias in favor of the cause of Great Britain. When parties are convicted by witnesses supposed to be in their interest, the proof is always deemed the more conclusive. The French people cannot be heard in their own behalf, as their papers were taken from them at the time of their forced extirpation. If they had any record of their sufferings and wrongs, it will ever remain a sealed book.

One of the very first acts of Governor Cornwallis on establishing his government at Halifax, was to issue a declaration to the “French subjects of his Majesty, King George, inhabiting Nova Scotia,” which contains the following charge against them, bearing date of July 14, 1749:

“I do hereby declare in his Majesty’s name, that his Majesty, although fully sensible that the many indulgences which he and his royal predecessors have shown to the said inhabitants in allowing them the entirely free exercise of their religion, and the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands, have not met with a dutiful return, but on the contrary divers of the said inhabitants have openly abetted or privately assisted his Majesty’s enemies in their attempts, by furnishing them with quarters, provisions and intelligence, and concealing their designs from his Majesty’s Governor, insomuch that the enemy more than once appeared under the walls of Annapolis Royal before the garrison had any notice of their being within the Province: yet his Majesty, being desirous of showing further marks of his royal

grace in hopes to induce the inhabitants to become for the future true and loyal subjects, is graciously pleased to allow that the said inhabitants shall continue in the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same, as also the peaceable possession of such as are under their cultivation: Provided, that the said inhabitants do, within three months from the date of this declaration, take the Oath of Allegiance appointed to be taken by the laws of Great Britain, . . . and I do strictly charge and forbid all persons whatever, from possessing themselves of any cultivated land within this Province without a grant for the same under the seal of this Province; also that no person whatever do export out of this Province any corn or cattle without especial leave for that purpose."

In answer to the charge contained in the above, that the French openly abetted with the enemies of King George, we append the following extract from a letter written by Governor Mascarene, dated at Annapolis Royal, in which he says, referring to Du Vivier's campaign :

"To the breaking the French measures, the timely succors received from Massachusetts, *and our French Inhabitants refusing to take up arms against us*, we owe our preservation. The first had prepared a force that in the opinion of all, considering the ill condition of the fort, we should not have been able to resist; by the second, our men were eased in constant duty the many ruinous places in our ramparts required to attend; and if the inhabitants had taken up arms they might have brought three or four thousand men against us, who would have kept us on still harder duty, and by keeping the enemy for a longer time about us, made it impossible to repair breaches or get our firewood."

The charge of the English had been that the French inhabitants were ripe for revolt, and only needed the presence of a French force in the country when they would flock to its standard. The above declaration of Mascarene would seem to refute this charge, as also the following which appears on the records, relative to Du Vivier's behavior towards

the inhabitants of Minas and Piziquid, that it was "very harsh;" that the French soldiers "coming in the night sent men to every house whilst they were buried in sleep, and threatened to put any to death that should stir out or come near the [English] fort; that they had been ordered to furnish weekly a certain quantity of cattle, to bring their carts and teams, the orders being most of them on pain of death."

At the first Council held by the new government at Halifax,—which for want of better accommodation was held on board of a vessel in the harbor,—on July 14th, three French deputies, representing River Canard, Grand Pré and Piziquid, called to pay their respects. They were furnished with copies of the above declaration, and of the oath that was to be given to the inhabitants, and were commanded to return within a fortnight and report the resolutions of their several departments. They were ordered to send to the other French settlements to let them know His Excellency desired to see their deputies as soon as possible.

In obedience to the orders of Cornwallis, ten deputies arrived at Halifax on the 29th, representing the settlements of Annapolis, Grand Pré, River Canard, Piziquid, Cobequid, Chignecto and Shepody, who delivered a written answer to his Excellency the Governor, which contained a request that they might be permitted to have priests, and enjoy the free and public exercise of religion; and demanded an exemption from bearing arms in time of war. The Council were of opinion that they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion, provided that no priest shall presume to officiate without first obtaining a license, and taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty. With regard to exemption from bearing arms it was the unanimous opinion no exemption should be granted them, but they must be told peremptorily that they must take the Oath of Allegiance as offered them, for that his Majesty would allow none to possess lands in his territories whose allegiance could not be count-

ed on in case of need. It was decided to send persons to the French districts to administer the oath to the inhabitants, and such as would continue in the possession of their lands must take the oath before the 26th of October, which would be the last day allowed them.

The next day the deputies were called before the Council, and a declaration embodying the above decisions read to them, and a copy given to each for their several districts. The deputies asked provided they had a mind to evacuate their lands, if they could have leave to sell their lands and effects, and were told they could not be allowed to sell or carry off anything. The deputies then asked leave to return and consult with the inhabitants, upon which they were warned that all who should not before the 26th of October have taken the Oath of Allegiance, would forfeit all their possessions and rights in this Province. They then asked leave to go to the French Governors and see what conditions might be offered them, and were told that "whoever should leave the Province without first taking the Oath of Allegiance, should immediately forfeit all their rights." The priests of the several settlements were at the same time ordered to repair to Halifax as soon as possible.

On the 6th of September, deputies from the French districts appeared before the Governor at Halifax, with a letter containing their answer, signed by one thousand persons. After acknowledging with thanks the many kindnesses and privileges they had received from the government, this letter goes on to say; "We believe if his Majesty had been informed of our conduct towards his government, he would not propose to us an oath, which, if taken, would at any moment expose our lives to great peril from the savage nations, who have reproached us in a strange manner, as to the oath we have taken to his Majesty. This one binding us still more strictly, we should assuredly become the victims of their barbarous cruelty. The inhabitants, over the whole extent

of country, have resolved not to take the oath required of us; but if your Excellency will grant us our old oath which was given us at Minas, by Mr. Richard Phillips, with an exemption for ourselves and for our heirs from taking up arms, we will accept it. But if your Excellency is not disposed to grant us what we take the liberty of asking, we are resolved, every one of us, to leave the country. We take the liberty to beg your Excellency to tell us whether or not his Majesty has annulled the oath given us by Phillips. . . . We hope your Excellency will allow yourself to be moved by our miseries, and we, on our part, will exert ourselves to the utmost in praying to God for the preservation of your person."

His Excellency made the following answer:

"We have cause to be much astonished at your conduct. This is the third time you have come here, and you do nothing but repeat the same story. To-day you present us a letter signed by a thousand persons, in which you declare openly that you will be the subject of his Britannic Majesty on such and such conditions. It appears to me you think yourselves independent to any government, and you wish to treat with the King as if you were so.

"But you ought to know, that from the end of the year stipulated in the treaty of Utrecht, for the evacuation of the country, those who chose to remain in the Province became at once the subjects of Great Britain. The treaty declares them such; the King of France declares, in the treaty, that all the French who shall remain in this Province, shall be the subjects of his [British] Majesty.

"It would be contrary to common sense, also, to suppose that one can remain in a province, and possess houses and lands there, without being subject to the sovereign of that province. You deceive yourselves if you think you are at liberty to choose whether you will be the subjects of the King or no. From the year 1714, that no longer depended upon you. From that moment you became subject to the laws of Great Britain. . . . You ought to have taken the Oath of Allegiance to your King the moment you were required to do so. You tell me that General Phillips granted you

the reservations you demand ; and I tell you that the general who granted you such reservations did not do his duty ; and also that this oath has never in the slightest degree lessened your obligations to act always as a subject ought to act.

“ You allow yourself to be led astray by people who find to their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine it is only your oath which binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which a King administers to his subjects that makes them subjects. The oath supposes they are so already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred bond of fidelity of those who take it. It is only out of pity to your situation, and to your inexperience in the affairs of government, that we condescend to reason with you ; otherwise the question would not be reasoning, but commanding and being obeyed.”

Governor Cornwallis wrote to the Board of Trade: “ The French deputies have been here this week ; they came as they said with their final answer. Your Lordships will see from the enclosed copy of their letter, that they are resolved to retire rather than take the oath. As I am sure they will not leave their habitations this season, when the letter was read to the council in their presence, I made them answer without changing any of my former declaration, or saying one word about it. My view is to make them useful as possible to his Majesty while they do stay. If, afterwards, they are still obstinate, I shall receive in the spring his Majesty's further instructions from your Lordships.”

In the foregoing papers we have a plain statement of the questions at issue, and the position of the two parties, neither being disposed to yield ground to the other. The neutrals were firm in their determination not to take the prescribed oath without immunity from bearing arms, alleging as an excuse, their fear of the savages ; though doubtless another reason was, that, in the unsettled state of the country, they did not know how soon they might be called upon

to take arms against their own countrymen. The English Government, on the other hand, was as determined that they should take an unqualified oath, and gradually drew the restraints of power more closely, until the expulsion of the French from the territory.

While these events were transpiring, other troubles were engendering, all of which boded no good to the hopeless Acadians. The terms of the treaty of Utrecht were not sufficiently explicit, and war was likely to break out at any moment between the two powers over a professed misunderstanding. The French affected to believe the term "Acadia" included only the peninsula, while the British side were for including territory to the north of the Bay of Fundy. This made the government at Halifax all the more anxious to get the numerous Acadian French bound in some way to the British cause, and it was an equally potent reason for the Acadians not to commit themselves. The Governor of Canada had sent detachments of soldiers to take possession of the St. John River, and also to dispute the title of the English at Chignecto, and prevent their settling there.

In September, Captain Hanfield was detached from Annapolis with orders to occupy Minas, and to establish himself he built a block-house at Grand Pré. This was looked upon with disfavor: a party of three hundred Indians attacked the place in December, but were foiled in the attempt; they succeeded, however, in capturing Lieutenant Hamilton and eighteen men who were surprised without the fort. Eleven of the inhabitants of Piziquid were with the savages when the attack was made, and Captain Gorham was sent up to seize the rebellious inhabitants and confine them for trial; but they had fled for Chignecto.

At this period in our history, the priest, La Loutre, figures quite conspicuously. As early as 1740 we find him acting as a missionary among the Micmac Indians. He was a most determined enemy to the British authority in Acadia,

and an effective emissary and correspondent of the French government in Quebec. In 1745 we hear of him heading a body of Abenaki Indians in an attack on Annapolis Royal.* Large sums of money, fire-arms, ammunition and other supplies, were furnished him from time to time, for distribution among the French and Indians. His principal residence was at Chignecto, from which point he could readily communicate with the different French settlements on the peninsula. He held the office of Vicar-General in Acadia, under the Bishop of Quebec. By means of this office he obtained an influence over the Acadian priests, who became his agents in controlling the French and Indians of the province. He is charged with still farther departing from the sacred functions of his office by engaging in trade, by means of which he added to his coffers. The support he received from the Governor of Canada enabled him to hold his position, regardless of advice of his clerical superiors, and remonstrances of the British authorities. La Loutre's plan of operations with the Acadians, one which he pursued vigorously from first to last, was to threaten them with the vengeance of the savages if they submitted to the English, and to refuse the sacrament to all who refused to obey his commands. He was charged with inciting the Indians to hostilities at the early settlement of Halifax, and encouraging their attacks upon stragglers and those without the limits of the fort getting fire-wood.

With all these ill-omened influences at work, it is not a matter of surprise that the new government at Halifax regarded with suspicion all persons of French descent, and interpreted all occurrences to their disadvantage. But one fails to see the justice of laying the acts of a few renegade Frenchmen at the doors of thousands of law-abiding population, any more than pronouncing a whole community guil-

* See pages 164-5.

ty when a burglary has been committed in their midst; or the equity of the claim that the machinations of the Papist La Loutre, reflected the sentiment of the whole Acadian people.

The following is characteristic of the time:

“TO CAPT. SYLVANUS CORB:—

Having certain information that La Loutre, a French Priest at Chignecto, is the author of all the disturbances the Indians have made in this Province, and that he directs and instructs them, and provides them from Canada with arms, ammunition, and every thing necessary for their purpose,—You are hereby ordered to apprehend the said priest La Loutre wherever he may be found, that he may answer the crimes laid to his charge.

“As all the inhabitants of Chignecto, through his instigation, have harbored and assisted the Indians, and have never given the least intelligence to this government, you are hereby ordered to seize as many of the inhabitants as you can, or in case they quit their houses upon your approach, you are to seize and secure as many of their wives and children as you think proper, and deliver them to the first English fort you shall come to, to remain as hostages of their better behavior. You will likewise search their houses for papers, arms or ammunition and warlike stores of any kind, which you will take or destroy.

“Given under my hand and seal at Halifax, Jan. 13, 1749.

E. CORNWALLIS.

Early in the season of 1750, Governor Cornwallis determined to erect a block-house at Chignecto, where the most rebellious of the French were residing, and near where the hated La Loutre had made his residence. Major Lawrence was entrusted with the work; taking with him four hundred soldiers, they marched to Minas, from whence they embarked for Chignecto. There on the south side of the Miseguash, which the French claimed to be the boundary of Acadia, was a settlement of one hundred and forty houses.

This village was situated upon one of the most fertile spots in all Acadia. Its people, having had early notice that the English were coming, were persuaded to abandon their homes, and with their cattle and movables, to cross the Misseguash, and come under the French authority on the northern bank. La Loutre was the chief prompter in this movement; and to make the step irrevocable, he ordered his Indians to set fire to the village; every dwelling was speedily consumed, not excepting the chapel. This act of wanton devastation committed on the French people by a priest of their own country and faith, comes well authenticated, otherwise it could hardly be believed. Over a thousand persons were embraced in this forced emigration; and the number was increased at a later period. About eight hundred Acadians took refuge on the site of Charlottetown, P. E. I., during the summer, and were fed on rations furnished from Quebec. There they lived miserably, like Indians in the woods. Others were scattered in different parts of the country. These poor refugees lived for several years within sight of the fields that had been their own, rather than return to them on condition of taking the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of England; or we might more fitly say, "they were restrained by the influence of a wicked priest who employed savages to overawe and coerce them." These were afterwards known in history as the "Deserted French Inhabitants." Lawrence did not build the fort, as the withdrawal of the French south of the Misseguash rendered it unnecessary, and so he marched back to Minas.

In April, 1750, deputies from River Canard, Grand Pré and Piziquid, arrived at Halifax, desiring leave to evacuate the Province and carry off their effects. Governor Cornwallis returned them the following answer:

"I am not ignorant of the fact that since my arrival in this Province, every means has been employed to alienate

the hearts of the French subjects of his Britannic Majesty. I know that great advantages have been promised you elsewhere, and that you have been made to believe your religion was in danger. Threats have been resorted to in order to induce you to remove into French Territory. The savages are made use of to molest you. The savages are to cut the throats of all who persist in remaining in their native country, attached to their own interests, and faithful to the government. By the manner in which this scheme has been carried out, you will judge of the character of the directors and of their designs. You will judge whether those deserve your confidence who sacrifice their own honor, the honor of their sovereign, and of their nation, to lead you to your ruin. You know that certain officers and missionaries, who came from Canada to Chignecto last autumn, have been the cause of all our troubles during the winter. Their entrance into this Province, and their stay here, are directly contrary to the treaties which exist between the two crowns. Their conduct has been horrible, without honor, probity, or conscience, and such as they dare not acknowledge themselves. They are doing everything by underhand dealings, and by means of the savages, whom they disown in the end. It was these who induced the Indians of the River St. John to join with the Micmacs, the day after a solemn treaty. They induced the Micmacs to commence their outrages, and furnished them with everything for their war. Finally, since the peace, they have been engaged in intrigues and enterprises for which an honest man would have blushed even during the war. These same gentlemen are doing their best to cause you to leave the country and to transfer yourselves to French territory. They have endeavored to give you very false ideas which you will not fail to declare to us. Their aim is to embroil you with the government. * * * *

"After having passed the winter in the Province and commenced to prepare the lands in the spring, it is ridiculous to come and tell me that you will not sow, having resolved to withdraw. My friends you must go and sow your lands in order that they may be left in that condition in which they ought to be at this season. Without that you will have no right to expect the least favor from the government. When you have done your duty in this respect, I will

give you a more precise reply to your request. In the meantime, as it is my determination to act always in good faith with you and not to flatter you with vain hopes, I will now let you know my sentiments on two important articles. I declare to you frankly that according to our laws nobody can possess lands or houses in the Province, who shall refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King when required to do so. As to those who shall leave the Province, the order of no government permits them to take with them their effects. All their goods are confiscated to the King. I have just issued my orders to the effect that all shall be arrested and brought back who are found carrying off such effects."

Towards the close of May, the French Neutrals having sown their lands, deputies from Annapolis, Grand Pré, Rivier Canard and Piziquid, again waited on the Governor at Halifax, soliciting permission to leave the Province. The following is a portion of a letter given by him in reply:

"My friends, the moment that you declared it your desire to leave and submit yourselves to another government, our determination was to hinder nobody from following what he imagined to be to his interest. We know that a forced service is worth nothing, and that a subject compelled to be so against his will is not far from being an enemy. We frankly confess, however, that your determination to leave gives us pain.

"We are well aware of your industry and your temperance, and that you are not addicted to any vice or debauchery. This Province is your country; you and your fathers have cultivated it; naturally you ought to enjoy the fruits of your labor. Such was the design of the King our Master. You know that we have followed his orders. You know that we have done everything to secure to you not only the occupation of your lands, but the ownership of them forever.

"We have given you also every possible assurance of the enjoyment of your religion. When we arrived here we expected that nothing would give you so much pleasure as the determination of his Majesty to settle this Province.

Certainly nothing more advantageous to you could take place. You possess the only cultivated lands in the Province; they produce grain and nourish cattle sufficient for the whole colony. It is you who have had all the advantages for a long time. In short, we flattered ourselves that we could make you the happiest people in the world. . . . We must not complain of all the inhabitants. We know very well there are ill-disposed, and mischievous persons among you who corrupt the others. Your inexperience and your ignorance of the affairs of government, and your habit of following the counsels of those who have not your real interests at heart, make it an easy matter to seduce you. In your petition you ask for a general leave. . . . In order to effect this, we should have to notify all the commanders of his Majesty's ships and troops to allow every one to pass and repass, which would cause the greatest confusion. The Province would be open to all sorts of people, to strangers, and even to savages. . . . The only manner in which you can withdraw from this Province is that all persons wishing to leave shall provide themselves with our own passport, and we declare that nothing shall prevent us from giving passports to all those who ask for them, the moment that peace and tranquillity are reëstablished in the Province.

"In the present state of the Province we are surprised that you thought of asking for such leave. You know that the savages are assembled at Chignecto, furnished with everything and protected by a French detachment. You know you will have to pass these French detachments and savages, and that they compel the inhabitants who go there to take up arms. I am to presume you pay no attention to this. It is a demand I can by no means grant."

"And as we are not ignorant of the bad consequences of those assemblies, where often the most honest people are led astray by some seditious persons, we positively forbid, for the future, all assemblies of the inhabitants, except for some important business, when they shall have the permission of the commander and when he or some one for him shall be present. I recommend you to remain quietly in your settlements, occupied about your own affairs, until we shall see the present disturbances settled."

Though the foregoing is couched in very plausible lan-

guage—the language a father would use toward a son whom he loved—it is difficult to reconcile the various orders emanating from the Halifax government. At one time the French Neutrals are told to take the unqualified Oath of Allegiance, or accept the alternative of leaving the country without the privilege of selling their property or taking with them their effects; and when they come to ask permission to leave on the latter ruinous conditions, they are plainly told they cannot be permitted to leave the country. The English, as they themselves declare, were averse to having the twenty thousand Acadians join their enemies in Canada and elsewhere—the threat therefore that they must take the oath or leave the colony could not have been made in good faith. Those who are disposed to condemn the course of the Acadians in not accepting so many blessings as promised by Governor Cornwallis, by so easy a matter as subscribing to an oath, and so secure all that earth could give, have but to imagine the condition of the Acadians had they subscribed to the oath, in case the Province again reverted to French domination, as it was, to all appearance likely to do at any time. With Papist priests and Canadian Governors on one hand, and the English on the other, the poor Acadian French, distrusted by both, with ruin staring them in the face, military quartered among them, property taken by force by friend and foe alike,—their condition was truly deplorable.

The following letter from La Loutre addressed to M. Bigot,* Commissary of New France, dated Bay Verte Aug.

*Seven miles from Quebec are the ruins of a mansion, consisting of gables and division-wall, in thick masonry, with a deep cellar, outside of which are heaps of debris, over which grow alders and lilacs. This chateau was occupied by the last Royal Intendant, M. Bigot, a dissolute and licentious French satrap, who stole \$2,000,000 from the treasury. The legend tells us that Bigot used this building for a hunting lodge and place of revels, and that once, while pursuing a bear among the hills, he got lost, and was guided back to the chateau by a lovely Algonquin maiden.

15th, 1750, not only shows the powers exercised by that worldly priest, but likewise exhibits the condition of the families of the Neutrals at this period. The letter was found on a captured sloop taken from the French by the British ship, *Trial*:

"I send you the ship London. M. de Bonaventure is to write to you by this opportunity to ask you for provisions, not being able to get any from Louisbourg for the subsistence of the refugee families. If the four vessels that you promised us had arrived, we would have sent some flour to Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island); but for the present we cannot do so. We have here a great many people to support, and in the autumn we shall have an increase of more than sixty families from Beaubassin, and the rivers which are beyond our claims, who have not sown at all, in order to withdraw to our territories.

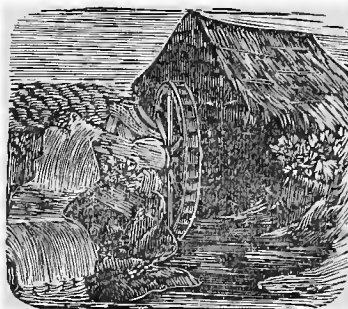
"The inhabitants of Cobequid are to decide as soon as they hear from France. They will make the number one hundred families. Perhaps we shall have some from Minas if they can escape. You see that we require provisions; and it would be exposing these families to perish, not to be in a condition to help them. . . . The Canabas who were on the Chebucto road have seized the letters of the English who were writing to Minas and Port Royal. I will have them sent to you by the first courier.

"If all our savages were Frenchmen we should not be embarrassed; but the wretches get tired, and will perhaps leave us in our greatest need. They are getting tired at not hearing from France; and it is very surprising there are no letters for us, although a vessel has arrived at Louisbourg having three hundred soldiers on board. . . . We are waiting here only for news from France to decide upon our course."

Gov. Cornwallis and his Council, having decided the erection of a fort at Chignecto a necessity for the proper guard-

whom he had met in the forest. She remained in this building a long time, in a luxurious boudoir, and was visited frequently by the Intendant; but one night she was assassinated by some unknown person, either M. Bigot's wife or her own mother, to avenge the dishonor to her tribe.

ing of their interests on the Peninsula, Lieut.-Col. Lawrence was sent there in September, with a strong force to erect one. The French and Indians opposed their landing, but were driven off after a sharp skirmish. A short distance south of the Misseguash, opposite Fort Beausejour, on a considerable elevation, Lawrence commenced the erection of a picketed fort, and a block-house, which he named after himself. Though the two crowns were then at peace, here were two fortifications on opposite sides of the Misseguash, manned by soldiers of different nationalities, between which something very similar to a state of warfare existed.



FALL OF BEAUSEJOUR.

As has been before intimated, the campaign against Nova Scotia was undertaken at the expense and under the authority of the British Crown. The troops, however, were drawn from among the colonists of New England, and acted under their own officers. Lieutenant-Colonel Moncton held the command of the expedition, but the soldiers from Massachusetts, consisting of two battalions, of which Governor Shirley was Colonel, were led by Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow of Marshfield. Haliburton says of Winslow that he was "a gentleman of one of the most ancient and honorable families in the Province, who held a commission of Major-General in the Militia, and whose influence was so great as to effect the raising of two thousand men in about two months, to serve for the term of one year if so long required."

The fleet, with about two thousand men on board, set sail from Boston on the 20th of May, and in five days reached Annapolis. Then taking on board about three hundred of Warburton's regiment, and a small train of artillery, they bore away for Chignecto, where they arrived on the 2nd of June, and the following day the troops landed and encamped around Fort Lawrence. Vergor, then in command at Fort Beausejour, called in all his available forces, sending an order to the Acadians to come to his assistance—three

hundred of whom obeyed under compulsion.* On the 4th of that month the New England troops were set in motion. The first resistance was met at Pont a Buot, a few miles east of Beausejour, where was a block-house and a strong breast-work of timber. A spirited attack was made on this place, and the French were driven out of the works after an hour's hard fighting; following up their advantage, the English pressed upon the block-house, which was soon abandoned and set on fire, the enemy seeking the cover of Fort Beausejour. From the block-house Colonel Moncton advanced to within half a league of the French fortress, and invested that place with his little army. As the French retired they set fire to all the houses between Pont a Buot and Beausejour, to the number of sixty, and before night all were in ruins, not even excepting the church. For more than a week the English were employed in getting their cannon over the river, cutting a road through the woods, and locating a battery on the high ground behind the fort. The French in the meantime had been actively employed in strengthening the place. On the 13th the guns opened on Fort Beausejour; the following day they fired small shells from trenches dug within seven hundred feet of the walls. Vergor had been expecting help from Louisbourg, to which place he had sent for assistance when first hearing of Moncton's approach: he was doomed to disappointment—the commander at Louisbourg sending word he could give him no men as he was himself threatened with an English squadron. Many of the Acadians deserted; the rest asked permission to retire, which was refused. On the 16th, a large shell rolled into one of the casemates, killing an English prisoner by the name of Hay, and three French officers.

*Hannay states, the Acadian French were willing to take up arms against the English, and that this protesting against aiding the French was only a subterfuge, in case the refugees afterward fell into English power. He gives no authority for the statement, however.

The same day Vergor sent an officer to Moncton for a suspension of hostilities; terms of surrender were agreed upon and the same evening the English entered the fort.

The terms of capitulation granted by the victorious New England General were—that the soldiers should go out of the garrison bearing their arms; that they should be given a passage by sea to Louisbourg; and they agreed not to bear arms in America for six months. The Acadians, who had been forced to take up arms on pain of death, were pardoned.*

“In the evening, Vergor gave a supper, at which the officers of both armies were present: but there was one well-known face absent from the board. The Abbé La Loutre, seeing no clause in the terms of capitulation that would cover his case, had withdrawn from the fort just before the English entered it. His career, as an agitator and political incendiary, was ended. The result of all his schemes had been simply his own ruin, and that of the cause for which he had labored. As in his disguise, and concealed by the shadows of the evening, he wended his way toward the northern wilderness, an outcast and a fugitive, it may possibly have occurred to him that his political mission was a mistake; that he would have done better had he taken the advice of his Bishop, and attended to the duties of his office as a missionary priest. . . . When he got to Quebec, after

*Se says Hannay. Minot says it was “stipulated that they should be left in the same situation that they were in when the army arrived, and not be punished for what they had done afterwards.” This we believe to be the only instance in which a considerable body of the Neutral French were ever found in arms against the English: and, as the above authorities state, they were pardoned. Yet the English were went to justify their cruel measure of expatriating the whole French people from their country, mainly on the ground of this act. It is difficult to perceive the justice of condemning the three hundred for an offense that had been pardoned; much less the equity of considering a whole nation guilty of a crime that was committed by a few only.

a fatiguing journey through the wilderness, he met with a cold reception from the Governor, and was bitterly reproached by the Bishop for his unclerical conduct.”*

Colonel Moncton, after putting a garrison in the captured fortress and changing its name to Fort Cumberland, in honor of the Royal Duke who had won the victory at Colloiden, next marched against Bay Verte on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He promptly reduced that place, where he found a large quantity of provisions, ammunition and stores of all kinds, that being the port from which these articles were supplied to the French. He likewise disarmed the Acadian refugees in that vicinity, numbering about fifteen hundred. The fortifications at St. John harbor, a few days later, which had but just been raised, were blown up and destroyed at the approach of the English. During all these operations the New England troops lost only about twenty men killed, and the same number wounded. The French forts on the Peninsula having been reduced and French power broken, the expedition was at liberty to proceed with the business of removing the French from the territory.

* Hannay.

PRELIMINARY TO EXPULSION.

"The year 1755 commenced with preparations for dislodging the French from their encroachments." So wrote Haliburton. He might have written, the year commenced with preparations for forcibly removing the French from the soil that had been theirs by inheritance for four successive generations, extending over more than a century and a quarter of peaceable possession.

"Perhaps," says another historian,* "those who examine the whole matter impartially, in the light of all the facts, will come to the conclusion that it would have been a real cause for shame had the Acadians been permitted longer to misuse the clemency of the government, to plot against British power,† and to obstruct the settlement of the Province by loyal subjects."‡

*Hannay.

† Governor Mascarene writes to the Duke of Newcastle in 1742, after nearly thirty years of English rule in Acadia, "The frequent rumors we have had of war being declared against France, have not as yet made any alteration in the temper of the inhabitants of this Province, who appear in a good disposition of keeping to their oath of Fidelity."

‡ A disclosure of the motives of the English is given by Lawrence in a letter to the Board of Trade, Oct. 18, 1755, in which he acknowledges the following: "As soon as the French are gone, I shall use my best endeavors to encourage people to come from the Continent to settle their lands, and if I succeed in this point we shall soon be in a condition of supplying

In "Walsh's Appeal," where the author speaks of Winslow's campaign against Nova Scotia, we find these words—"This officer, General Winslow, of an exceptionable and elevated character, left upon record the expression of his disgust and horror in submitting to act the part which was imposed upon him by the British authority. I transcribe some of the shocking details from Minot." Extolling one's character and condemning his acts as shocking, all in the same breath!

Entick, a writer of no mean authority, whose account is the principal one through which the affair is circumstantially known to the readers of English history, speaks in this wise:—

"General Lawrence pursued his success, and was obliged to use much severity, to extirpate the French and Indians, who refused to conform to the laws of Great Britain, or to swear allegiance to our sovereign, and had engaged to join the French troops in the spring, expected to arrive from old France, as early as possible on that coast or at Louisbourg; some of whom, with ammunition, stores, &c., fell into the hands of our cruisers off Cape Breton. General Lawrence did not only pursue those dangerous inhabitants with fire and sword, laying the country waste, burning their dwellings, and carrying off their stock; but he thought it expedient for his Majesty's service to transport the French Neutrals, so as entirely to extirpate a people, that only waited an opportunity to join the enemy. This measure was very commendable. But the execution of it was not quite so prudent. The method taken by the General to secure the

ourselves with provisions, and I hope in time to be able to strike off the great expense of victualling the troops. This was one of the happy effects I proposed to myself from driving the French off the isthmus; and the additional circumstance of the inhabitants evacuating the country will, I flatter myself, greatly hasten this event, as it furnishes us with a large quantity of good land ready for immediate cultivation."

Province from this pest, was to distribute them, in number about seven thousand, among the British Colonies, in that rigorous season of winter, almost naked and without money or effects to help themselves."

While Entick makes a candid statement of the violent procedure of the English against the Neutrals, we cannot fail to observe how adroitly he introduces the expression "dangerous inhabitants," "who only wanted an opportunity to join the enemy,"* "pests," and such like epithets, by way of justifying the act. We leave the reader who, in the foregoing pages, has had the same sources of information put before him, to judge whether those expressions are deserved. The documents copied, as before stated are most of them from English authors from an English standpoint, and we should expect would be colored to favor the English if colored at all, still less is it likely they would favor the French more than facts will warrant. All the papers and documents in possession of the Acadians were taken from them at the time of their expulsion or previous thereto; as few or none of them have ever come to light, we have the right to presume they were purposely destroyed—as the law-breaker undertakes to cover up all traces of his guilt, with the view of escaping censure for his acts.

The historian, Minot, speaking of the French Neutrals, says, their character and situation were so peculiar as "to distinguish them from almost every other community that has suffered under the scourge of war. They were the descendants of those French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who, after the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, by which the Province was ceded to England, were permitted to hold their

* This same Governor Lawrence, in a letter written the year previous to the Lords of Trade, says: "I believe that a very large part of the inhabitants would submit to any terms rather than take up arms on either side." Which assertion is the more truthful!

lands, on condition of making a declaration of allegiance to their new sovereign, which acknowledgment of fidelity was given under an express stipulation that they and their posterity should not be required to bear arms, either against their Indian neighbors or trans-Atlantic countrymen. This contract was at several periods revived, and renewed to their children; and such was the notoriety of the compact, that for half a century, they bore the name, and with some exceptions, maintained the character, of Neutrals."

We next quote from a declaration of the French Neutrals themselves, on this point, who were living in exile in Pennsylvania at the time it was made, and who had petitioned King George of Great Britain to take cognizance of their sufferings:

"It is a matter of certainty, (and within the compass of some of our memories,) that in the year 1730, General Phillips, the Governor of Nova Scotia, did in your Majesty's name confirm to us, and all the inhabitants of the whole extent of the Bay of Minas and rivers thereunto belonging, the free and entire possession of those lands we were then possessed of, which by grants from the former French Government we held to us and our heirs forever, on paying the customary quit-rents, &c. And on condition we should behave with due submission and fidelity to your Majesty, agreeably to the oath which was then administered to us, which is as follows: "We sincerely promise and swear by the faith of a Christian, that we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to his Majesty, King George, whom we acknowledge as sovereign Lord of New Scotland or Acadia: so God help us." And at the same time the said Phillips did, in like manner, promise the said French inhabitants in your Majesty's name, that they should have the true exercise of their religion and be exempted from bearing arms and from being employed in war either against the French or Indians: Under the sanction of this solemn

engagement we held our lands, made further purchases, and annually paying our quit-rents, and we had the greatest reason to conclude that your Majesty did not disapprove of the above agreement."

That this charge was never denied may be taken as an evidence of the truth of the asseveration. The British ministry made no effort to explain, or contradict the allegation.

Governor Lawrence writes to Secretary of State Nov. 30, 1755: "The people . . . were by us commonly called the Deserted French Inhabitants, because they were universally, as well as the other inhabitants, the descendants of those French left in Nova Scotia at the treaty of Utrecht; and had taken the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty in the time of General Phillips' government, with the *reserve of not bearing arms!*"

We prefer that the melancholy story of the French Neutrals shall be told by those who were best acquainted with their circumstances and were living among them. We shall therefore draw largely from the documents of that period. Governor Hopson, who succeeded Cornwallis in Aug., 1752, thus writes to the Lords of Trade under date of the 10th day of December:

"I should be glad to have your Lordships' opinion as early in the spring as possible, concerning the oaths I am to tender to the French inhabitants. . . . Mr. Cornwallis can inform you how difficult, if not impossible, it may be to force such a thing upon them, and what ill consequences may attend it. As they appear to be better disposed than they have been, and I hope will still amend and in a long course of time become less scrupulous, I beg to know in the spring how far his Majesty would approve my silence on this head till a more convenient opportunity. Mr. Cornwallis can inform you how useful and necessary these people are to us,

how impossible it is to do without them, or to replace them even if we had other settlers to put in their places, and at the same time will acquaint you how obstinate they have always been when the oaths have been offered."

Governor Hopson seems to have counseled a mild and forbearing deportment towards the French people. He directed his soldiers to take nothing from them by force, or set any price upon the goods but what they themselves agreed to; that upon all occasions they were to be treated as his Majesty's subjects, to whom the laws of the country were open, to protect as well as to punish.

The considerate demeanor of Governor Hopson, thus shown toward the French inhabitants, would seem to have had its effects if we can judge from a letter written by him. to the Lords of Trade the following July. After some preliminary remarks in relation to the state of the Province, he goes on to say:

"As the almost continual war we have with the Indians prevents our mixing any English settlers among these inhabitants, or instituting any sort of civil jurisdiction among them, they have hitherto been left open to the insinuations and evil practices of French priests and other emissaries that are sent amongst them from Canada and the French fort at Beausejour, who have at all times been endeavoring to prejudice them against an English government, and to persuade them that the country they live in will shortly fall into the hands of the French either by negotiations or by force of arms. Though these doctrines would not fail of their desired effect with so ignorant and so bigoted a people, yet no event happening in all this time towards the accomplishment of their predictions, the inhabitants began to suspect they were deceived, and even some few of those who had deserted their lands returned again into the Province, and I have been privately informed that the inhabitants went so far as to hold consultation whether they should not throw themselves under the protection of the English government and become subjects to all intents and purposes; but there arose a very considerable objection to this step, which was

that as they lived on farms very remote from one another, and of course are not capable of resisting any kind of enemy, the French might send the Indians among them and distress them to such a degree that they would not be able to remain on their farms, which apprehension they were soon confirmed in by the arrival of the Abbé La Loutre at Bay Verte, where he has just now assembled the Indians."

About the middle of September, 1753, the French inhabitants sent a petition to Governor Hopson, begging that the missionaries might be exempted from taking the Oath of Allegiance. They said they hoped his Excellency would grant that favor, inasmuch as, when they took the oath, it was on condition they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and a sufficient number of ministers to perform the services. If this oath were required of the missionaries they would not remain among the people. They said the priest Daudin "who has lately come hither for the purpose of instructing us, has determined to return should this oath be required of him." The Governor and Council, on consideration, were of the belief that the French authorities had ordered the priests not to take any oath, which would have the effect of depriving the Neutrals of their priests, and so induce them to quit the Province; it was thought best therefore to grant the petition.

Two weeks later Governor Hopson received a petition from the Deserted French Inhabitants, those who had voluntarily left their Acadian farms and were supplied with rations by the French Government. In this petition they stated their reason for leaving their property "was the new oath which his Excellency Mr. Cornwallis wished to exact from us, desiring to break and revoke the one granted to us on the 11th of October, 1727, by Gov. Armstrong." Having learned that if willing to return they would be granted the same favors as were given them by Armstrong, they proposed to negotiate with the English with that end in

view. They were willing to accept of the oath as follows:

"Je promets et jure sincèrement que je serai fidèle a La Majesté le Roi George Second et a ses successeurs. Dieu me soit en aide."

[I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful to his Majesty King George the Second and to his successors. So help me God.]

The Deserted French also desired the following articles, which they claim were granted them by Governor Phillips, on which conditions they were willing to return to their farms:—That they be exempted from taking up arms against any one whatever, and not be forced to act as pilots; that they shall be free to sell their effects and withdraw from the Province at any time: and that they have the full enjoyment of their religion with as many priests as they desire.*

The Council decided to tender them the oath in these words: "Je—— Promets et Jure sincèrement que Je serai fidele, et que Je porterai une Loyanté parfaite vers Sa Majesté le Roi George Second.

Ainsi que Dieu me Soit en Aide."

and that such of the inhabitants as shall on or before the 20th day of November next take the foregoing oath, shall be admitted to return to a peaceable possession of their lands at Chignecto, shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be accorded all the privileges granted them by the treaty of Utrecht.

*The Deserted French Inhabitants, in a memorial for a renewal of their privileges to Governor Hopson in 1753, makes the charge of lack of fidelity on the part of the English in these words: "We hope that these articles will be granted us by your Excellency, and even ratified by the Court of England, so that those who may succeed your Excellency shall not make the pretext that Cornwallis made in saying that Governor Phillips had no authority from the Court of England for the oath he granted us."

In June of the following year the French Deserted Inhabitants made answer that unless they could be assured that they would not be required to bear arms, they could not possibly think of returning to their possessions.

Governor Hopson was succeeded by Governor Lawrence; the reader cannot fail to note the change in the tone of the letters sent to the home government relative to the French Neutrals. Lawrence proved himself the sort of ruler that was needed to carry out the harsh measures of the year 1755 to a successful issue. Writing to the Lords of Trade he complains of the "many inconveniences he has long labored under from their obstinacy, treachery, partiality to their own countrymen, and their ingratitude for the favor, indulgence and protection, they have at all times so undeservedly received from his Majesty's Government."

Just how much "protection" the French Inhabitants were the ungrateful recipients of may be learned by a letter from Governor Hopson to the Lords of Trade of a previous date, in which he says—"Exclusive of the difficulty that attends marching after Indians in a country like this, I assure your Lordship that the troops are so divided in keeping the different posts at Chignecto, Annapolis Royal, Minas, Piziquid, Lunenburg, Dartmouth, George's Island, Fort Sackville and Halifax, that I have not at present a detachment to spare from hence even upon the most urgent occasion."

Governor Lawrence continues:

"Your Lordships well know they have always affected a neutrality, and as it has been generally imagined here, that the mildness of the English Government would by degrees have fixed them in our interest, no violent measures have ever been taken with them. But this lenity has not had the least good effect; on the contrary, I believe they have at present laid aside all thoughts of taking the oaths voluntarily, and great numbers of them are at present gone to Beausejour to work for the French, in order to dike out the

water at the settlement they were going to make on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, notwithstanding they were refused passes which they applied for to go thither. And upon their complaining they could get no work of the English, they were acquainted that as many as would come to Halifax should be employed, though, in reality I had no employment for them, but I proposed to order them to widen the road to Shubenacadia, as I very well knew if I could get them once here it would put off their journey to Beausejour, and would be no expense to the government, as I was sure they would refuse the work for fear of disoblighing the Indians. But as they did not come, I have, by advice of the Council, issued a proclamation, ordering them to return forthwith to the lands, as they should answer the contrary at their peril. They have not for a long time brought anything to our markets, but on the other hand have carried everything to the French and Indians whom they have always assisted with provisions, quarters, and intelligence, and indeed while they remain without taking the oaths to his Majesty (which they will never do till they are forced) and have incendiary French priests among them, there are no hopes of amendment. As they possess the best and largest tracts of land in this Province, it cannot be settled [by the English] with any effect while they remain in this situation, and though I would be very far from attempting such a step without your Lordship's approbation, yet I cannot help being of opinion that it would be much better, if they refuse the oaths, that they were away.

"The only ill consequence that can attend their going, would be their taking arms and joining with the Indians to distress our settlements, as they are numerous and our troops much divided; though indeed I believe that a very large part of the inhabitants would submit to any terms rather than take up arms on either side; but that is only my conjecture, and not singly to be depended upon in so critical a circumstance. However if your Lordships should be of opinion that we are not sufficiently established to take so important a step, we could prevent many inconveniences by building a fort, or a few block-houses, on Shubenacadia River. . . .

"The Chignecto inhabitants have repeated their application for re-admission to their lands, but were acquainted it

were useless to think of it without an absolute compliance on their part. I was privately informed that at their return they were in a very ill humor with La Loutre, and with the French Commandant, and that they represented to them the hardships they labored under in not being suffered to accept the proposals of the English in a remonstrance that I am told was little short of mutiny."

The above letter would seem to be a fair statement of the true situation. First, the French were in possession of the richest lands and the English could not settle until the French were driven out; second, it was feared that the French, if expelled, would join the enemies of the country, and endanger the English colonies; and Lawrence admits in the concluding paragraph, that the French Acadians were well disposed, but prevented from swearing allegiance by the threats of La Loutre.

The following is among the documents of the period now under consideration :

"The bearers hereof being in all twenty-five persons are just arrived here from Louisbourg from whence they made their escape to avoid starving. Some of them were formerly inhabitants of this country, and are nearly related to old Labrador; they have all taken the oaths: the colonel desires you would treat them kindly, order them to be victualled, to have tools given them, and land laid out for them where you shall see most convenient. WM. COTTERELL."

On the 17th of September, Governor Lawrence issued a proclamation, forbidding the exportation of corn from the Province, "under a penalty of fifty pounds and a forfeiture of the corn so shipped, one half to the informer, the other to the use and support of his Majesty's government."

The reasons given in the "order book" for the corn act are, first, to prevent the supplying of corn to the Indians and their abettors who reside on the north side of the Bay

of Fundy; and second, for the better supply of the Halifax market, which had hitherto been obliged to furnish itself from other colonies, notwithstanding the great quantities of grain produced at Minas, Piziquid and Canard, and which has hitherto been transported to Beausejour and St. John's River. The inhabitants were not "constrained to sell to any particular person or at any fixed price; all that is insisted on is their supplying the Halifax market before they think of sending corn anywhere else. Their desiring to sell their grain to Mr. Dyson and refusing it to Mr. Mauger for the same money appears very extraordinary."

This statement does not fully accord with the instructions of Governor Lawrence to Captain Murray;—"You are not to bargain with this people for their payment, but furnish them with certificates, which will entitle them at Halifax to receive such payments as shall be thought reasonable, and assuring them if they do not immediately comply, the next courier will bring an order for their execution." Murray is the same who complained of the insolence and want of respect shown towards him by the French messengers who waited upon him. He was in command of a handful of men at Fort Edward (now Windsor), and like other upstart despots, laboring under an abiding sense of his own importance, clothed with absolute authority over life and property, and secure in the fact that French evidence would not be received against him, he was not likely to be at a loss for a pretext to display his authority.

Trouble having arisen at Fort Edward, Piziquid, the inhabitants having refused to bring wood to the fort, Captain Murray, in command of the English force there, took Daudin, a priest and four other prisoners, and sent them under guard to Halifax. Daudin, who was charged with being the cause of the trouble, "having created much discontent among the inhabitants, those who were very quiet and obedient in his absence," was ordered to leave the country;

while the other Frenchmen "were severely reprimanded and exhorted to return immediately and bring in the wood as had been ordered, which duty if they neglected any longer to perform they would certainly suffer military execution."

Early in October of that year, the Governor acquainted the Council that six Deserted French families were arrived at Halifax, and desired to be permitted to return to their lands. They declared that they were so terrified by the threats that La Loutre had used, and his declaring the great distresses they would be reduced to if they remained under the dominion of the English, that they retired and had been set down on the Island of Cape Breton, where they had remained ever since; but that the land being so very bad they were utterly incapable of supporting their families, and had obtained consent of the Governor of Louisbourg to return. They further declared that if the Council would permit them to enjoy their former lands, that they were willing to take the oath, and that their future behavior should be unexceptionable.

The Council were of opinion that the return of these Deserted French families, and their voluntarily taking the oath without any reservation, would have a good effect; they therefore granted them permission to return to their possessions, and allowed the most needy among them provisions for the winter.

Thomas Pichon, a young medical student of Marseilles, was, subsequent to 1753, a commissary of stores for the French forces at Beausejour. He furnished the English with all possible information of the priest La Loutre, and the state of the garrison at Beausejour, until the fall of that place in 1755. Pichon was ostensibly made prisoner with the rest of the garrison; when apparently on parole at Halifax, he made intimacy with the French officers of rank detained there, and reported their plans and conversations to the Halifax government, for which information he was paid.

In 1758 he went to London, where he resided up to the time of his death. We give a portion of a communication from him to Captain Scott:

“Daudiu’s affair is causing a good deal of noise. On Sunday Moses* preached a most violent sermon, in which he singularly accommodated the British nation, and concluded by saying offensive things to the refugees, whose crimes are, in his estimation, the sole cause of the detention of a holy man. He afterwards represented to them what they—the refugees—had to expect from the English. That when they return to the other side, they will have neither priests nor sacraments, but will die like miserable wretches. The vehemence, or rather the petulance with which he preached, exhausted him to such an extent that he had to go at it twice. He then told these refugees to appear, after mass, at the Commandant’s, who had a letter from the General of Canada for them. The refugees did not come, however. De Vergor, (the Commandant at Fort Beausejour,) sent a sergeant twice to summon them; a score of them arrived in the fort. As they seemed in no hurry to enter, the impatient commander went to his door and called them himself, and in order to induce them to enter more rapidly, he threatened to put them in irons, and spoke to them in the harshest manner.

“The tendency of the letter is to urge them to stay with the French and to establish themselves. It promises them various assistance. This letter, as you can well imagine, had been prepared at the instance of Moses himself. These poor people retired without compliment. Moses was present and played the part of Aaron—he was spokesman. De Vergor stutters. . . .

“On the 21st of last month, eighty-three of the refugees sent two of their deputies to carry their petition to the Gov-

*Pichon speaks of La Loutre always by the name of Moses.

error of Canada, asking for authority to return to their old possessions, since we cannot give them land on this side suitable for cultivation; and stating that those which are offered them are in places disputed by the English;—that they are not released from the oath which they have taken to the King of Great Britain; and that if taken among the French, they are threatened with being punished as criminals. . . . In the meantime, Moses declared at the altar, to the refugees who signed the request, that if they did not come to his house and retract what they had done, and efface their marks with their spittle, they should have no paradise to look forward to, nor sacraments to go to. There are several who have not dared to refuse acquiescence in such strong and powerful reasons.”

Pichon craftily observes of the above letter that some of the French complain the English know what is going on at Fort Beausejour—little surmising that he, their trusted secretary, is the informant.

It will be seen to what extremities the poor refugees were reduced. On one hand threatened with the vengeance of the savages, and denied the sacraments and hopes of future bliss in case they returned into English territory; on the other, the absolute certainty of being executed as traitors if found with the French in case of declaration of war between France and England.

We append a petition of the inhabitants of Cobequid to those of Beaubassin, which is among the papers furnished by Pichon:

“While we were in the enjoyment of peace, Lieut. Gorham came with sixty men to John Robert’s. He came stealthily and at night, and carried off our pastor and four deputies. He read his instructions, by which he is ordered to seize upon all the guns found in our houses, and consequently to reduce us to a condition similar to that of the Irish. Gorham has returned to John Robert’s. He has pitched his camp there, and expects his brother with a hundred men.

"He is preparing to establish there a block-house and a small fort, in order to obstruct the roads and prevent the departure of the inhabitants. There is no doubt that the English, early in the spring, will place vessels to guard the passage of the entrance. Thus we see ourselves on the very brink of ruin, exposed to be carried off, and transported to the English islands, and to lose our religion.

"Under these unhappy circumstances, we have recourse to your charity; and we earnestly ask you to assist us in getting out of the hands of the English, and in withdrawing ourselves to French territory, where we can enjoy the exercise of our religion. We ask you to strike a blow; and after we have driven Gorham from our parish, we will all go for our brothers at Piziquid, Grand Pré and Port Royal, who will join us for the purpose of delivering themselves from the slavery with which they are threatened. We do not seek to make war. If the country belongs to the English, we will give it up to them; but as we are the masters of our own persons, we wish absolutely to leave it.

"It is your brothers who ask you for help; and we think that the charity, religion, and union that have always existed between us, will constrain you to come and rescue us. We are waiting for you: you know that the time is hurrying on, and we beg you to send us a prompt reply.

"This is what I have been requested to write to you, gentlemen, in faith of which I have signed the present petition.

"J. L. LA LOUTRE."

Among Pichon's papers is also a petition of the Acadian inhabitants to the King of France, imploring his protection, stating their grievances against the English government, and asking grants of French territory adjoining Acadia.

The Lords of Trade wrote to Governor Lawrence under date of October, 1754; they say: "As to the inhabitants of the district of Chignecto, who are actually gone over to the French at Beausejour, if the Chief Justice should be of opinion that by refusing to take the oaths without a reserve, or by deserting their settlements to join the French, they have forfeited their title to their lands, we could wish that proper measures were pursued for carrying such forfeiture into

execution by legal process, to the end you might grant them to any persons desirous of settling there, where we apprehend a settlement would be of great utility, if it could, in the present state of things, be effected; and as Mr. Shirley* has hinted in a letter to the Earl of Halifax that there is a probability of getting a considerable number of people from New England to settle, you would do well to consult him upon it; but it appears to us that every idea of an English settlement at this place would be absurd, but upon a supposition that the French forts Beausejour, Bay Verte, &c., are destroyed, the Indians forced from their settlements, and the French driven to seek such an asylum as they can find in the barren islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and in Canada."

In the foregoing we have documentary proof that the Lords of Trade, the Governor of Acadia and the Governor of Massachusetts, were discussing the feasibility of dispossessing the French Acadians of their valuable lands, with the avowed purpose of settling English colonists thereon. This is in the face of the assertion of some historians that no such motive was entertained by those who took part in the removal of the French.†

We have before adverted to the character of Abbé La

* Governor Shirley of Massachusetts.

† Hannay, in his work on Acadia, says: "French writers say the Acadians were expelled because the greedy English colonists looked upon their fair farms with covetous eyes, and that the government was influenced by these persons. A more flagrant untruth never was told. The anxiety of the government that the Acadians should remain on their lands and become good subjects was extreme. To effect these objects the government consented to humiliations and concessions which only increased the arrogance of the Acadians. Even after the fall of Beausejour they might have remained on their lands without molestation, if they had but consented to take an unconditional Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown."

Loutre;—we append the following additional testimony from no less an authority than the Bishop of Quebec. That high church dignitary wrote La Loutre the following caustic letter :

“You have at last, my dear sir, got into the very trouble which I foresaw, and which I predicted not long ago. The refugees could not fail to get into trouble sooner or later, and to charge you with being the cause of their misfortunes. It will be the same with those of the Island of St. John whenever the war breaks out. They will be exposed to the English, ravaged without ceasing, and will throw the blame upon you. The court thought it necessary to facilitate their departure from their lands, but that is not the concern of our profession. It was my opinion that we should neither say anything against the course pursued, nor anything to induce it. I reminded you, a long time ago, that a priest ought not to meddle with temporal affairs, and that if he did so, he would always create enemies, and cause his people to be discontented.

“I am now persuaded that the General and all France will not approve of the return of the refugees to their lands. . . . But is it right for you to refuse the sacraments, to threaten that they shall be deprived of the services of a priest, and that the savages shall treat them as enemies? I wish them conscientiously to abandon the lands they possessed under English rule; but is it well proved that they cannot conscientiously return to them, *secluso perversionis periculo?*”

“On the northern bank of the Misseguash, less than a mile from the river, which now forms the boundary of two Provinces, the Intercolonial Railway winds around a remarkable hill, which rising suddenly from the marsh, runs back in a high narrow ridge towards the northeast. The traveler, as he gazes listlessly at the landscape, suddenly has his attention fixed by the sight of a ruined magazine, and the ramparts and embrasures of an ancient fortress, and turns to his guide book to discover what this may be. These wast-

ing battlements, which now seem so much out of place in the midst of a quiet pastoral scene, have a sadder history than almost any other piece of ground in Acadia, for they represent the last effort of France to hold on to a portion of that Province, which was once all her own, which she seemed to value so little when its possession was secure, yet which she fought so hard to save. This ruin is all that remains of the once potent and dreaded Beausejour." *

In addition thereto, the French had a small fort at Bay Verte, on the Gulf side of the isthmus, called Fort Gaspereau, which they used as a depot for supplies coming to Beausejour from Louisbourg and Quebec. At Pont a Buot, between Forts Gaspereau and Beausejour, they built a blockhouse, in which was a garrison of thirty men; and there were guards at Shepody, and other points on the north shore of the Bay of Fundy, thus making a complete chain of fortifications from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the River St. John, where was a detachment of eighty men. Beausejour could thus be reinforced either by way of St. John or the Gulf, without the English in Acadia having any knowledge of it. Here La Loutre established his headquarters; and it was here that he committed another deed which added to the odium with which he was regarded.

The soldiers of Beausejour and Lawrence, the two hostile forts on either side of the Missequash, were accustomed to meet between the two with flags of truce, when one desired to communicate with the other. La Loutre dressed an Indian in French uniform, and sent him with a white flag in the direction of Fort Lawrence. The flag was noticed, and Captain How went out to meet it. When he had nearly reached the pretended French officer, a party of Indians who had been lying in ambush fired a volley directly at How, killing him instantly. Cornwallis characterized this

* Hannay.

as "an instance of treachery and barbarity not paralleled in history."

During this time the English were excessively annoyed by the attacks of the Indians of the Peninsula, who fell upon the inhabitants in the night, or surprised small parties of the settlers who had ventured too far from the forts.—This checked the settlement of the country by making it impossible for the settler to strike out into the wilderness and make a home for himself. As it was generally believed the savages were prompted by French emissaries, the court of France was apprised of the condition of affairs. That power, not yet being in a position for open rupture, promised to send positive orders to the Governor of Canada, to prevent all causes of complaint for the future,—a promise, which, if the French court fulfilled, was not as fully obeyed. At the same time, supplies of men and military stores were being sent to Louisbourg, and to Quebec, until both places became a source of alarm to the English.

One of the early laws of the Halifax Government was to the effect that no debts contracted in England, or in any of the colonies, prior to the settlement of Halifax, or to the arrival of the debtor, should be recoverable in any court of judicature in the Province. The design was to attract emigrants; it may be supposed that the dishonest sought this asylum for insolvent debtors as well as the unfortunate. That the grade of public morality was none of the highest, is shown by a very extraordinary order of Governor Cornwallis, which, after reciting that the dead were followed to the grave by neither relatives, friends, nor neighbors, and that it was difficult to procure the assistance even of "carriers," directed the Justices of the Peace, upon the death of a settler, to summon twelve persons from the vicinity of the last place of abode of deceased, to attend the funeral and carry his corpse to the grave; and as a penalty for not complying with the orders, directions were given to

strike out the name of any delinquent from the mess books of the place, and to withdraw from him the allowance and support of the Government.

The year 1755 was memorable in events on the American Continent. No less than four grand expeditions were planned against the French by Great Britain and her Colonists in America. The march of General Braddock on Fort Du Quesne, and its sanguinary defeat, is familiar in its details to every school-boy. A second was organized to proceed against Fort Niagara, composed of Colonial Regulars and Indians, but which got no farther than Oswego, owing to a delay in starting: the attempt against Niagara went no farther that year. A third expedition against Crown Point by the Provincials inflicted a bloody defeat on the French under Dieskau, but failed to attain the object for which it was placed in the field. But the fourth, the expedition against Acadia, succeeded only too well. This incursion, aided and abetted, and paid for by England, consummated by New England troops, under a Massachusetts commander bred in a Puritan atmosphere, in the name of religion, was conducted in so heartless a manner, that as though by common consent, the reports of details have been purposely destroyed, and historians have passed over it with only an allusion, as if unable to record the shame of the transaction.

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH NEUTRALS.

We open the chapter by allowing this simple people to tell the story of their suffering and wrongs in the following memorial to Governor Lawrence, under date of June 10th, 1755, previous to the fall of Beausejour, and other French reverses on the Peninsula. We mention this, as otherwise it might be said they were disheartened, and came to sue for peace only after having lost all hope. We ask the candid reader to peruse the document carefully, and to judge for himself whether the strictures put upon it by the Governor and Council are just, or otherwise.

“We, the inhabitants of Minas, Piziquid, and the River Canard, take the liberty of approaching your Excellency for the purpose of testifying our sense of the care which the Government exercises over us. It appears, Sir, that your Excellency doubts the sincerity with which we have promised to be faithful to his Britannic Majesty.

“We most humbly beg your Excellency to consider our past conduct. You will see, that, very far from violating the oath we have taken, we have maintained it in its entirety, in spite of the solicitations and the dreadful threats of another power. We still entertain, Sir, the same pure and sincere disposition to prove, under any circumstances, our unshaken fidelity to his Majesty, provided that his Majesty shall allow us the same liberty that he has granted us.—We earnestly beg your Excellency to have the goodness to inform us of his Majesty’s intentions on this subject, and to give us assurances on his part.

"Permit us, if you please, Sir, to make known the annoying circumstances in which we are placed, to the prejudice of the tranquillity we ought to enjoy. Under pretext that we are transporting our corn and provisions to Beausejour and the River St. John, we are no longer permitted to carry the least quantity of corn by water from one place to another. We beg your Excellency to be assured that we never transported provisions to Beausejour, or to the River St. John. If some refugee inhabitants at this point have been seized, with cattle, we are not on that account, by any means guilty, inasmuch as the cattle belonged to them as private individuals, and they were driving them to their respective habitations. As to ourselves, Sir, we have never offended in that respect; consequently we ought not, in our opinion, to be punished; on the contrary, we hope that your Excellency will be pleased to restore to us the same liberty that we enjoyed formerly, in giving us the use of our canoes, either to transport our provisions from one river to the other, or for the purpose of fishing; thereby providing for our livelihood. This permission has never been taken from us except at the present time. We hope, Sir, that you will be pleased to restore it, especially in consideration of the number of poor inhabitants who would be very glad to support their families with the fish that they would be able to catch. Moreover, our guns, which we regard as our own personal property, have been taken from us, notwithstanding the fact they are absolutely necessary to us, either to defend our cattle which are attacked by wild beasts, or for the protection of our children, or of ourselves. Any inhabitant who may have his oxen in the woods, and who may need them for purposes of labor would not dare to expose himself in going for them without being prepared to defend himself.

"It is certain, Sir, that since the savages have ceased frequenting our parts, the wild beasts have greatly increased, and that our cattle are devoured by them almost every day. Besides, the arms which have been taken from us are but a feeble guarantee of our fidelity. It is not the gun which an inhabitant possesses that will induce him to revolt, nor the privation of the same gun that will make him more faithful; but his conscience alone must induce him to maintain his oath. An order has appeared in your Excellency's name, given at Fort Edward, June 4th, 1755, in the 28th year of

his Majesty's reign, by which we are commanded to carry guns, pistols, &c., to Fort Edward. It appears to us, Sir, that it would be dangerous for us to execute that order, before representing to you the danger to which this order exposes us. The savages may come and threaten and plunder us, reproaching us for having furnished arms to kill them. We hope, Sir, that you will be pleased, on the contrary, to order that those taken from us be restored to us. By so doing, you will afford us the means of preserving both ourselves and our cattle.

"In the last place, we are grieved, Sir, at seeing ourselves declared guilty without being aware that we have disobeyed. One of our inhabitants of the River Canard, named Pierre Melançon, was seized and arrested in charge of his boat, before having heard any order forbidding that sort of transport. We beg your Excellency, on this subject, to have the goodness to make known to us your good pleasure before confiscating our property and considering us in fault. This is the favor we expect from your Excellency's kindness, and we hope that you will do us the justice to believe that very far from violating our promises, we will maintain them, assuring you that we are are very respectfully, &c.

[Signed by twenty-five of said Inhabitants.]

Also a second memorial, dated June 24th, containing the following: "All the inhabitants of Minas, Piziquid and the River Canard, beg your Excellency to believe that if, in the petition which they have had the honor to present to your Excellency, there shall be found any error or want of neglect towards the government, it is entirely contrary to their intention; and that in this case the inhabitants who have signed it, are not more guilty than the others."

The Council voted unanimously "That the memorial of the 10th of June is highly arrogant and insidious, an insult upon his Majesty's authority, and government, and deserved the highest resentment, and that if the Memorialists had not submitted themselves by their subsequent memorial, they ought to have been severely punished for their presumption."

"The Lieutenant-Governor at the same time acquainted the Council that Captain Murray had informed him that for some time before the delivery of the first of the said memorials, the French had behaved with greater submission and obedience to the orders of government than usual and had already delivered to him a considerable number of their fire-arms; but that at the delivery of the said memorial they treated him with great indecency and insolence, which gave him strong suspicions that they had obtained some intelligence which we were then ignorant of, and which the Lieutenant-Governor conceived might most probably be a report that had about that time been spread amongst them of a French fleet being then in the Bay of Fundy, it being very notorious that the said French inhabitants have always discovered an insolent and inimical disposition towards his Majesty's government when they have had the least hope of assistance from France."

What the precise character of this "great indecency and insolence" of behavior was which the delegates showed towards Captain Murray, we are not informed. As the same charge is made against them by the Council, of their memorial of the 10th of June, (it may be with equal justice,) we will lay before the reader the reasons the Council gave for such accusation. It appears the signers of the document had been ordered to Halifax, fifteen of whom responded; they were brought in before the Council, the memorial read to them, when "they were severely reprimanded for their audacity in subscribing and presenting so impertinent a paper." We have the document now before us, and can ourselves judge of the truthfulness of their charge. If in this instance we do not find the accusation fully sustained by the facts, we may infer that the charges against the Neutrals in other respects are equally unfounded on fact. However we will let the council proceed with its own justification. "In order to show them [the Neutrals] the falsi-

ty as well as impudence of their memorial," it was ordered to be read by paragraph, remarks being made by the Lieutenant-Governor. It was observed in answer to this paragraph of their memorial of the 10th of June—

"That they were affected with the proceedings of the Government toward them,"

that they had been always treated with the greatest lenity, had enjoyed more privileges than the English subjects, had been indulged in the free exercise of their religion with full liberty to consult their priests, had been protected in their trade and fishery, and had been for many years permitted to possess their lands (part of the best in the Province) although they had not yet complied with the terms on which the lands were granted, by taking the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown. They were then asked whether they could produce an instance that any privilege was denied to them, or that any hardships were ever imposed upon them by the Government. "They acknowledged the justice and lenity of the Government."*

"They desire that their past conduct might be considered."

It was remarked to them "that their past conduct was considered, and that the government were sorry to say their conduct had been undutiful and very ungrateful for the lenity shown to them. That they had no returns of loyalty to the Crown, or respect to his Majesty's government in the Province. That they had discovered a constant disposition to assist his Majesty's enemies, and to distress his subjects. That they had not only furnished the enemy with provi-

*That the French deputies were actuated by fear in making this reply is quite evident. The memorial was brought for the expressed purpose of complaining of instances "where privileges were denied them."

sions and ammunition, but had refused to supply the inhabitants, or government, with provisions, and when they did supply, they have exacted three times the price for which they were sold at other markets. That they had been idle and indolent on their lands, had neglected husbandry, and the cultivation of the soil, and had been of no use to the Province either in Husbandry, trade or fishery, but had been rather an obstruction to the King's intentions in the settlement." They were then asked whether they could mention a single instance of service to the government, "to which they were incapable of making any reply."

. Upon reading this paragraph,—

"It seems that your Excellency is doubtful of the sincerity of those who have promised fidelity, that they had been so far from breaking their oath, that they had kept it in spite of terrifying menaces from another power,"

they were asked "What gave them occasion to suppose that the government was doubtful of their sincerity?"* and were told that "it argued a consciousness in them of insincerity and want of attachment to the interests of his Majesty and his government. That as to their taking arms, they [the French] had often argued that the Indians would annoy them if they did not assist them, and that by taking their arms by act of Government, it was put out of the power of the Indians to threaten or force them to their assistance. That they had assisted the King's enemies, and appeared too ready to join with another power† contrary to

* As if the taking away of their arms, and depriving them of their canoes was not a sufficient reason.

† At the time of the French occupation of Minas in 1744, the inhabitants of that place memorialized a Captain of infantry under Du Vivier to this effect: "We live under a mild and tranquil government, and we have all good reason to be faithful to it. We hope, therefore, that you

the allegiance they were bound by their oath to his Majesty."

In answer to this paragraph,—

"We are now in the same disposition, the purest and sincerest, to prove in every circumstance, fidelity to his Majesty, in the same manner that we have done, provided that his Majesty will leave us the same liberties which he has granted us."

they were told that "it was hoped they would hereafter give proofs of more sincere and pure dispositions of mind, in the practice of fidelity to his Majesty, and that they would forbear to act in the manner they have done, in obstructing the settlement of the Province, by assisting the Indians and French to the distress and annoyance of many of his Majesty's subjects, and to the loss of the lives of several of the English inhabitants. That it was not the language of British subjects to talk of terms with the Crown, to capitulate about their fidelity and allegiance, and that it was insolent to insert a *proviso*, that they would prove their fidelity, *provided* that his Majesty would give them liberties. All his Majesty's subjects are protected in the enjoyment of every liberty while they continue loyal and faithful to the Crown; and when they become false and disloyal they forfeit that protection."

They were told in answer to the paragraph where

"They desire their canoes for carrying their provisions from one river to another, and for their fishery,"

will have the goodness not to separate us from it." Governor Mascarene acknowledged to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, that the safety of Annapolis during Du Vivier's attempt at the reduction of that place in 1744, was in great measure owing to the "French inhabitants refusing to take up arms against us." These assertions do not accord well with the declaration of Governor Lawrence. This, too, was during the time of a French invasion of the territory, a circumstance which would be likely to fan into flame the least spark of a spirit of insurrection had such been found in the hearts of the French Neutrals.

that "they wanted their canoes for carrying provisions to the enemy, and not for their own use in the fishery; that, by a law of this Province, all persons are restrained from carrying provisions from one port to another, and every vessel, canoe or bark found with provisions is forfeited, and a penalty is inflicted on the owners."

They were told in answer to the following paragraph,

"They petition for their guns as part of their goods, that they may be restored to defend their cattle from wild beasts, and to preserve themselves and their children, that since the Indians have quitted their quarters, the wild beasts are greatly increased,"

that "guns are no part of their goods, as they have no right to keep arms, and they are subject to penalties if arms are found in their houses. That upon the order from Captain Murray, many of the inhabitants voluntarily brought in their arms, and none of them pretended that they wanted them for the defense of their cattle against the wild beasts, and that the wild beasts had not increased since their arms were surrendered. That they had some secret inducement, at that time, for presuming to demand their arms as a part of their goods and their right, and that they had flattered themselves of being supported in their insolence to the Government, on a report that some French ships of war were in the Bay of Fundy. That this daring attempt plainly discovered the falsehoods of their professions of fidelity to the King, and their readiness has been visible upon every intimation of force or assistance from France, to insult his Majesty's Government, and to join with his enemies, contrary to their oath of fidelity."

Upon reading this paragraph,—

"Besides, the arms we carry are a feeble surety of our fidelity. It is not the gun that an inhabitant possesses which will lead him to revolt, nor the depriving him of that

gun that will make him more faithful, but his conscience alone ought to engage him to maintain his oath,"

they were asked, "What excuse they could make for their presumption in this paragraph, and treating the government with such indignity and contempt as to expound to them the nature of fidelity, and to prescribe what would be the security proper to be relied on by the government for their sincerity?" The deputies were then informed they had a fair opportunity to manifest the reality of their obedience by immediately subscribing to the Oath of Allegiance. They answered "they had not come prepared to answer the Council on that head." The Council replied that the same thing had often been proposed to them during the six years past, that they knew the sentiment of the inhabitants, and had determined this point with regard to themselves before now. The deputies asked that they might go and consult with the people as they desired to act with the rest, and were told they "would not be permitted to return for any such purpose, but that it was expected from them to declare on the spot." Permission was given them to delay an answer until the following morning. In the meantime the "Council after consideration were of opinion that directions should be given to Captain Murray to order the French inhabitants forthwith to choose and send to Halifax, new deputies with the general resolution of the said inhabitants in regard to taking the oath, and that none of them should for the future be admitted to take it after having once refused to do so, but that effectual measures ought to be taken to remove such Recusants out of the Province."

"The deputies were then called in again, and having been informed of this Resolution, offered to take the oath, but were informed that as there was no reason to hope their compliance proceeded from an honest frame of mind, and could be esteemed only the effect of compulsion and force, and is contrary to an Act of Parliament whereby persons

who have refused to take the oaths cannot afterwards be permitted to take them, but are considered as Popish Recusants; therefore they would not now be indulged with such permission. And they were thereupon ordered into confinement."

It does not appear that the men thus summarily imprisoned were proven guilty of "assisting the King's enemies," or "refusing to supply the government with provisions," nor even that they were individually charged with the offence; neither did the Council make any but a general accusation of a "constant disposition to distress" the English subjects, and "obstruct the intentions of the King," without deigning to support the charge with a single instance circumstantially proven, or even asserted.

We quote from Hannay on this topic: "The presence, north of the Misseguash, of fourteen hundred inhabitants, rendered desperate by their misfortunes, and led by a French regular officer, and reinforced by a large band of Indians, afforded ground for the most serious alarm. The inhabitants of the settlements at Minas and Annapolis were known to be in active sympathy and correspondence with these 'Deserted French Inhabitants,' as they were termed. With consummate hypocrisy these 'deserted' Frenchmen, who had claimed and professed to be neutrals, got themselves enrolled for the defense of Beausejour, under threatening orders which they themselves invited. With equal hypocrisy, the French of Minas and Annapolis approached the English Governor with honeyed words, while they were plotting in secret with the enemies of English power.*—With so many concealed enemies in the heart of the Prov-

*The same writer elsewhere says, the action of the Deserted French was due to the influence of La Loutre; and the question might be asked, where is his authority in regard to their "consummate hypocrisy" in themselves inviting threatening orders; or that the other inhabitants were "plotting in secret with the enemies of English power."

ince, and so large a number of open enemies on its borders, the position of the English colonists was far from secure. And surely they deserved some consideration at the hands of their own government, and some measure of protection against those who sought to destroy them."

Haliburton, who might be expected to favor the British side of the question, says "the orders against the French population directing the surrender of their arms and the giving up of their boats were complied with in a manner which might certainly have convinced the government that they had no serious intention of an insurrection." He attributes the sanguinary action of the government to religious prejudices, and to the hatred with which the English at that time regarded all Frenchmen. He further says the action of the government was not always such as would conciliate affection, and cited as an instance when Captain Murray informed the people at Piziquid that if they did not furnish his detachments with fuel their houses would be used for that purpose; or if they failed to furnish timber for the repairs of Fort Edward, they should certainly suffer military execution.

As has already been stated, the entire line of forts and the northern border of Nova Scotia had fallen into the hands of the English, some of them having garrisons left in them to prevent communication between the French of Canada and Acadia. The French refugees at Chignecto had been disarmed; the Priest La Loutre had fled to Canada, and gave no further trouble: Vergor and other leaders were prisoners of war; the Indians had mostly left the Province, and the Neutrals about Minas and Annapolis had delivered up their arms, and appeared as peaceably inclined as at any time during their forty years sojourn under British rule; the English colonists were daily becoming stronger in numbers, and in short, every indication about the Peninsula was favorable to the government. Under these circumstances

it is hard to explain, in the light of the present century, the extreme measures decided on by the Governor and Council, assisted by Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, convened at Halifax, July 15th, 1755—no less a measure than the eviction of the whole French population of Acadia, and their dispersion among aliens in a strange land.

By the end of July, answer had been received from all the French settlements, to the effect that they would take no new oath; and “as it had been determined before to send all the French inhabitants out of the Province if they refused to take the oath, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures were necessary to send them away, and where they should be sent. After mature consideration, it was unanimously agreed that, to prevent as much as possible their attempting to return and molest the settlers that may be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed among the several colonies on the Continent, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired with all possible expedition for that purpose.”

Governor Lawrence's instructions to the various military forces designed to carry the resolutions of the government into execution, were, to keep the measures as secret as possible, “as well to prevent their attempting to escape to carry off their cattle;” and the better to effect this, “you will endeavor to fall upon some stratagem to get the men, both old and young (especially the heads of families) into your power and detain them until the transports shall arrive, so that they may be ready to be shipped off; for when this is done, it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and carry off the cattle. But, lest they should, it will not only be proper to secure all the boats and vessels you can lay your hands upon, but also to send out parties to all suspected roads and places from time to time, so they may thereby be intercepted.” He also or-

ders that the inhabitants will not "be allowed to carry away the least thing but their ready money and household furniture."

And again: "As there may be a deal of difficulty in securing them, you will, to prevent this as much as possible, destroy all the villages on the north and northwest side of the isthmus, that lie at any distance from the Fort of Beau-sejour, and use every other method to distress, as much as can be, those who may attempt to conceal themselves in the woods. . . . I would have you give particular orders for entirely destroying and demolishing the villages of Jediacke, Ramsach, &c., and everything they find about these quarters, from which any sort of support or assistance may be had by an enemy."

To gratify a laudable curiosity that is likely to arise respecting the social condition of this people on whose heads a calamity, unparalleled in history, is about to fall, and against whom such direful schemes are being concocted, we will draw at some length from the historian Haliburton, who not only was a resident of the territory, but who had known and conversed with eye-witnesses of the sad event.

"Hunting and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might have still supplied it with subsistence, had no attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture, which had been established in the marshes and low lands, by repelling with dikes the sea and rivers which had covered these plains. These grounds yielded fifty to one, at first, and afterward fifteen or twenty for one, at least; wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common, at the same time these immense meadows were covered with flocks. They computed as many as sixty thousand head of horned cattle: and most families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

Their habitations, which were of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as substantial farmers' houses in Europe. They reared a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, at once wholesome and plentiful. Their ordinary drink was beer and cider, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax, or of the fleeces of their own sheep; with these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any desire for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle, or furs. The Neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbors, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves; because each separate family was able, and had been accustomed, to provide for its own wants. They therefore knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of gold and silver which had been introduced into the Colony, did not inspire that activity in which its chief value consists. Their manners were of course extremely simple. There was seldom a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the Court of Judicature, established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills; for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvest, which was always sufficient to afford more means than there were objects of generosity.

“Real misery was wholly unknown, and benevolence anticipated the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt, without ostentation on the one hand, and without meanness on the other. It was, in short, a society of brethren; every individual of

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which was equally ready to give, and to receive, what he thought the common right of mankind. So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. An illegitimate child was almost unknown in the settlements.—This evil was prevented by early marriages, for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man arrived at a proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelve-month. There he received the partner whom he had chosen, who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1755, all together made a population of eighteen thousand souls.”

“Tradition is fresh and positive in the various parts of the United States where they were afterwards located, respecting their guileless, peaceable and scrupulous character; and the descendants of those, whose long-cherished and endearing local attachment induced them to return to the land of their nativity, still deserve the name of a mild, frugal, and pious people.”

The execution of this unusual and general sentence, says Haliburton, was allotted chiefly to the New England forces. The Acadians were kept entirely ignorant of their destiny, agreeably to instructions from Governor Lawrence, until the moment of their captivity, and were overawed, or allured, to labor at the gathering in of their harvest, which was secretly allotted to the use of their conquerors.

The orders from Lawrence to Captain Murray, who was first on the station, directed that if these people behaved amiss, they should be punished at his discretion; and if any attempts were made to molest the troops, he should take an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; and, in short, life for life, from the nearest neighbor where the mischief should be performed. To hunt these people into captivity

was a measure as impracticable as cruel; and as it was not to be supposed they would voluntarily surrender themselves as prisoners, their subjugation became a matter of great difficulty. At a consultation held between Colonel Winslow and Captain Murray, it was agreed that a proclamation should be issued at the different settlements, requiring the attendance of the people, at the respective posts on the same day; which proclamation should be so ambiguous in its nature, that the object for which they were to assemble could not be discovered; and so peremptory in its terms, as to insure implicit obedience. That which was addressed to the people in the limits now comprised in King's County, was as follows:

“To the inhabitants of the District of Grand Pré, Minas, River Canard, &c., as well ancient, as young men and lads:

Whereas his Excellency, the Governor, has instructed us of his late resolution respecting the matter proposed to the inhabitants, and has ordered us to communicate the same in person, his Excellency, being desirous that each of them should be satisfied of his Majesty's intentions, which he has also ordered us to communicate to you, such as they have been given to him: We therefore order and strictly enjoin by these presents, all of the inhabitants, as well of the above named District as of all the other Districts, both old and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the Church of Grand Pré, on Friday, the 5th instant, at three of the clock in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them; declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pretense whatever, on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate. Given at Grand Pré, 2d September, 1755, and 29th year of his Majesty's reign.

“JOHN WINSLOW.”

While the three days are passing before the memorable 5th arrives—a term but too short for the unsuspecting Acadians—let us glance at the correspondence of the com-

manders of the several districts who are engaged in this work of capturing a whole people, and see what motives prompt, and what thoughts inspire them.

Grand Pré, 30th August, 1755.

TO GOVERNOR LAWRENCE :

I am favored with your Excellency's letters, which Captain Murray was so good as to be the bearer of, and with whom I have consulted as to the duty proposed; and as the corn is now all down, the weather being such, has prevented the inhabitants from housing it, it is his opinion and mine, that your Excellency's orders should not be made public until Friday; and which day we propose to put them in execution. We had picquetted in the camp before the receipt of your Excellency's letter, and I imagine it is so far from giving surprise to the inhabitants, as to their being detained, that they look upon it as a settled point, that we are to remain with them all winter; and as this duty is of no expense to Government, I cannot but flatter myself your Excellency will approve of the matter, as fifty men to remain will be better in present circumstances, than one hundred without this protection, and the other part of the troops put on duty abroad. . . . Although it is a disagreeable part of the duty we are put upon, I am sensible it is a necessary one, and shall endeavor strictly to obey your Excellency's orders, to do anything in me to remove the neighbors about me to a better country; as to poor Father Le Blanc, I shall, with your Excellency's permission, send him to my own place. I am, &c.,

JOHN WINSLOW.

23d August.

This morning Capt. Adams and party returned from their march to the River Canard, and reported it was a fine country and full of inhabitants, a beautiful church, abundance of the good of this world, and provisions of all kinds in great plenty. Capt. Holby ordered with five officers and fifty privates to visit the village Molanson on the River Gaspareau, and Capt. Osgood, with the like number of officers and men, to reconnoitre the country in the front, or to the

southward of our encampment, both of which parties returned in the evening, and gave each account that it was a fine country.

JOHN WINSLOW,
Lieut. Col. Commanding.

This "fine country, with its beautiful church, and abundance of the good of this world," was, in less than a fortnight, to be laid waste by fire and pillage, and depopulated, by order of Winslow.

Fort Cumberland, 24th August, 1755.

DEAR SIR:—I embrace this opportunity with pleasure, to let you know that these leave me and all friends, as I hope they will find you in good health, and we rejoice to hear of your safe arrival at Minas, and am well pleased that you are provided with so good quarters for yourself and soldiers, and as you have taken possession of the friar's house, hope you will execute the office of priest. I am tired of your absence, and long for nothing more than to be with you; here is Capt. Proby and eight transports, arrived last Wednesday; Capt. Taggart arrived this morning, and a sloop from New York with provisions for the troops; the news has not yet come on shore; our troops remain in good health, and long to follow you. Yours, &c.,

PREBBLE.

To Col. Winslow, commanding at Minas.

Camp at Cumberland, 5th Sept., 1755.

DEAR SIR:—I received your favor from Captain Nichols, of the 23d August, and rejoice to hear that the lines are fallen to you in pleasant lands, and that you have a goodly heritage. I understand you are surrounded by the good things of this world, and having a sanctified place for your habitation, hope you will be prepared for the enjoyments of another; we are mouldering away our time in your absence, which has rendered this place to me worse than a prison; we have only this to comfort us, that we are as nigh to heaven as you are at Minas, and since we are denied our good things in this world, doubt not we shall be happy in the next. . . . Your sincere friend,

JEDEDIAH PREBBLE.

To Col. Winslow, commanding at Minas.

Fort Edward, 1755.

I was out yesterday at the villages, all the people were quiet and busy at the harvest; if this day keeps fair, all will be in here into their barns. I hope to-morrow will crown all our wishes. I am most truly, &c.,

A. MURRAY.

We will not burden these pages with more of this sickening religious cant. Such professions of piety made by men engaged in the work they were in, appears to be little short of sacrilege.

The reader has noted, in the above letters, the evident anxiety on the part of the English for the people to complete their harvest before the day decreed for them to assemble. The purpose of the commanders was, that the troops could the more readily plunder, and more effectually destroy what they could not carry away; the instructions of Governor Lawrence being for the country to be so completely devastated that, should any of the French escape from the soldiers, they would not be able to subsist in it.*

The ever memorable 5th of September arrived in due time. The "beautiful country" was all aglow that morning as only a September sun in that clear northern atmosphere could render it. The work of the harvest is over—the united efforts of the whole populace (for women and children wrought in the fields in that primitive pastoral community) sufficing in a few days to secure the season's yield: the produce of a year's industry is safely gathered into over-

*The following is among the instructions to Major Hanfield, under date of August 11th, 1755: "You will use all the means proper and necessary for collecting the people together so as to get them on board. If you find that fair means will not do with them, you must proceed by the most vigorous measures possible, not only in compelling them to embark, but in depriving those who shall escape of all means of shelter or support, by burning their houses, and destroying everything that may afford them the means of subsistence in the country."

flowing barns and granaries. Little do the yeomanry suspect, as they gather round the ample board, that it is the last time they will be permitted to meet as united families. Yet it is apparent that something unusual is occurring: is it a day of some religious festival, or are the people to join in a public joyous celebration of the ingathering of the season's bountiful harvest? The male members go out of hundreds of happy homes in obedience to the stern military order convening the inhabitants for the purpose of communicating "his Majesty's intentions" concerning them. The rising ground on which stands the church is soon teeming with the country folk. Some come on foot, singly and in groups; others, particularly the older men, are conveyed thither in carts: all are neatly clad in substantial homespun, with countenances that betoken a peaceable and law-abiding population.

The church was a large edifice, sufficient for the needs of that extensive parish. It was sacred to the hearts of this simple people; it was the place where, at the stated gatherings of the populace, the venerable Father LeBlanc was wont to break to them the bread of life; it was the scene of their christenings, the solemnization of their marriages, and above all, hallowed to the recollection of the last rites in memory of deceased loved ones.

Promptly at the hour (the Neutrals had felt the iron heel of military despotism too long not to be punctual), four hundred and eighteen able-bodied men were assembled at the church in Grand Pré. These being induced to enter the church, and a guard having been stationed at the door, Colonel Winslow placed himself, with his officers, in the centre, and addressed them as follows:

GENTLEMEN:—I have received from his Excellency, Governor Lawrence, the King's commission, which I have in my hand; and by his orders you are convened together to man-

ifest to you, his Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia; who, for almost half a century, have had more indulgence granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions; what use you have made of it you yourselves best know.—The part of duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species; but it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive, and therefore, without hesitation, shall deliver you his Majesty's orders and instructions, namely—that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live-stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown: with all other your effects, saving your money and household goods, and you yourselves to be removed from this his Province.

“Thus it is peremptorily his Majesty's orders, that the whole French inhabitants of these Districts be removed; and I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all these goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off; and also that whole families shall go in the same vessel,* and make this remove, which I am sensible must make you a great deal of trouble, as easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and hope that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops I have the honor to command.”

And he then declared them the King's prisoners.

* A promise which, whatever may have been the intentions of Winslow in making it, was most shamefully and inhumanly broken. Says Mrs. Williams: “By what sophism Colonel Winslow reconciled this deception, not to say abominable falsehood, to his conscience, history does not say. But his friends have said for him that if he was engaged in a cruel undertaking, yet his honor was untarnished, and doing what he did at the command of his sovereign, implied no want of humanity in him; that he was an officer whose honor could not be impeached.”

The whole number of persons finally collected at Grand Pré, says Haliburton, amounted to four hundred and eighty-three men, and three hundred and thirty-seven women, heads of families; their sons and daughters to the number of five hundred and twenty-seven of the former, and five hundred and seventy-six of the latter; making in all one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three souls.

Their stock consisted of one thousand two hundred and sixty-nine oxen, one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven cows, five thousand and seven young cattle, four hundred and ninety-three horses, nearly nine thousand sheep, and upwards of four thousand hogs. This enumeration shows the thriftiness of the population, who were rich in all that added to worldly enjoyment.

As some of the wretched inhabitants fled to the woods, all possible measures were adopted to force them back to captivity. The country was laid waste to prevent their subsistence. In the district of Minas alone, the soldiers, by order of Winslow, set fire to two hundred and fifty private dwellings, two hundred and seventy-six barns, eleven mills, one church, and other buildings to the number of one hundred and fifty-five;—over five hundred buildings in all, containing all the grain and household effects (not set apart for their captors) of the Acadians, reduced to ashes in a single district!

It was thought the people who had temporarily escaped capture, would return and deliver themselves into the hands of the English, rather than attempt to remain in a country where was no shelter nor provisions for sustenance. Having been deprived of their arms, they were at the mercy of the enemy, and many were reduced to such a condition of despair, that they surrendered themselves up. A few were yet hiding in the woods; in order to force them to terms, Col. Winslow issued another order, surpassing in cruelty his former one, if possible, which was to the effect that, "if

within a specified time the absent ones were not delivered up, military execution would be immediately visited upon the next of kin." In short, says Haliburton, so operative were the terrors that surrounded them, that of twenty-four young men who deserted from a transport, twenty-two were glad to return of themselves, the others being shot by sentinels; and one of their friends, believed to have been accessory to their escape, was carried on shore to behold the destruction of his house and effects, which were burned in his presence, as a punishment for his temerity and his perfidious aid to his comrades.

In the execution of these orders for firing the dwellings, no provision was made for the sick and infirm; the edict was inexorable, though the removal of the invalid from a dwelling should prove fatal. A number of them, more feeble than the others, did die from exposure to the night air and chilling winds, while waiting on shore during the delay attending the embarkation: their bodies were hastily buried in the sand by the sea.

The prisoners confined in the church expressed the greatest concern at having incurred his Majesty's displeasure, and in a petition addressed to Colonel Winslow, entreated him to detain a part of them as sureties for the appearance of the rest who were desirous of visiting their families, and consoling them in their distress and misfortunes. To comply with this request of holding a few as hostages for the surrender of the whole body, was deemed inconsistent with his instructions; but permission was given them to choose ten for the District of Minas, and ten for Canard, to whom leave of absence was granted for one day; and on whose return, another similar number was indulged in like manner.

The unfortunate captives bore their confinement, and received their sentence with a fortitude and resignation altogether unexpected; but when the hour of embarkation ar-

rived, in which they were to leave the land of their nativity forever,—to part with their families and friends with little hope of ever again meeting, and to be dispersed among strangers, whose language, customs and religion, were opposed to their own,—then it was that the weakness of human nature prevailed, and they were overpowered with the sense of their miseries.

Before giving particulars of the embarkation, let us turn once more to the written evidences of this dark transaction left by those participating in the terrible deed. In Winslow's letter book, to which source we are already indebted, are the following;

“The French people not having with them any provisions, and many of them pleading hunger, begged for bread; on which I gave them, and ordered that for the future, they be supplied from their respective families. Thus ended the memorable fifth day of September, a day of great fatigue and trouble.

JOHN WINSLOW.

Fort Edward, 8th Sept., 1715.

DEAR SIR: —I received your favor, and am extremely pleased that things are so clever at Grand Pré, and that the poor devils are so resigned; here they are more patient than I could have expected for persons so circumstanced, and what still surprises me, quite unconcerned. When I think of those at Annapolis, I appear over thoughtful of summoning them in; I am afraid there will be some difficulty in getting them together; you know our soldiers hate them, and if they can but find a pretext to kill them they will. I am really glad to think your camp is so well secured (as the French said at least a good prison for inhabitants). I long much to see the poor wretches embarked and our affairs a little settled, and then I will do myself the pleasure of meeting you and drinking their good voyage, &c., &c.

Yours, &c.

A. MURRAY.

To Colonel John Winslow.

Fort Edward, 5th September, 1755.

DEAR SIR:—I have succeeded finely, and have got 183 men into my possession. I believe there are but very few left, excepting their sick. I am hopeful you have had equally as good luck, should be glad you would send me transports as soon as possible, for you know our fort is but small; I should also esteem it a favour, if you could also send me an officer and thirty men more, as I shall be obliged to send to some distant rivers, where they are not all come yet.—Your answer as soon as possible, will greatly oblige your most humble servant.

A. MURRAY.

P. S.—I have sent Father Le Blanc's son to you, to go with his father, as you have taken him under your protection. At the nearest computation, it will require 360 tons of shipping, which I think at the least computation too small; therefore I believe 400 tons will be better,—since writing the above, two of the transports have arrived.

A. MURRAY.

To Col. Winslow, Commanding
His Majesty's forces at Grand Pré.

Governor Lawrence gave the following instructions relating to their embarkation:

“You must collect the inhabitants together, either by stratagem or force, not paying the least attention to any remonstrance or memorial from any inhabitant whatever, who may be desirous of staying behind, but embark every person if possible, according to instructions herewith sent. The inhabitants and their bedding must at all events be embarked; and if afterwards there is room for other articles, suffer them to carry what they conveniently can. Upon arrival of the vessels, as many of the inhabitants as can be collected by any means, particularly the heads of families and young men, are to be shipped on board of them at the rate of two persons to a ton, tonnage of the vessels to be obtained from the masters. . . . You will order five pounds of flour and one pound of pork to be delivered to each person so shipped, to last for seven days.

“And you will make it a particular injunction to the said

masters to be as careful and watchful as possible during the whole course of the passage, to prevent the passengers from making any attempt to seize upon the vessel, by allowing only a small number to be upon the decks at a time and using all other necessary precautions to prevent the bad consequences of such attempts; and that they be particularly careful that the inhabitants have carried no arms or other offensive weapons on board with them.

Of the vessels appointed to rendezvous in the Basin of Minas, there were "to be sent to North Carolina, such a number as will transport five hundred persons; to Virginia, such a number as will transport one thousand persons, and to Maryland, such a number as will transport five hundred persons, or in proportion, if the number to be shipped off should exceed two thousand persons."

Of the transports assembled in Annapolis Basin, there were ordered "to be sent to Philadelphia, such a number as will transport three hundred persons; to New York sufficient to transport two hundred, to Connecticut sufficient to transport three hundred, and to Boston such a number of vessels as will transport two hundred persons, or rather more in proportion to Connecticut, should the number to be shipped off exceed one thousand persons." Governor Lawrence estimates the number of French in the Province whom he proposed to forcibly remove, to be nearly seven thousand.

The Acadian peasants incarcerated in the chapel, as has already been stated, bore their captivity with remarkable fortitude. Not surmising that such extreme measures were contemplated by the English, they had been unwarily decoyed and captured, without even a show of resistance.* During the first night of their confinement, their families remained

*Garneau, in his "L'Histoire Du Canada," says a body of soldiers, hitherto kept in the background, came forward and surrounded the building as soon as the unsuspecting French entered it.

at home in anxious solicitude at their continued absence.— A number of strange vessels had been noticed in the Basin, and the fact added to their forebodings. At the first break of morning some messengers arrived, and soon the intelligence spread to the farthest settlement. It is not possible for the pen to portray the emotions that must have arisen in the bosoms of these poor Acadians at such an announcement as met them on that morning. In times of distress, there is consolation in rendering mutual advice and assistance: in this instance the tender wives and helpless children were obliged to act without the advice of their natural protectors.

During the few days intervening between the memorable 5th and the day of embarkation, events were transpiring of the gravest import to the French people. Bands of soldiers were scouring the country in pursuit of fugitives—not hesitating forcibly to enter the dwellings of the people whenever a suspicion of a lurking Frenchman, or even caprice, inclined them so to do. At one time the community would be thrown into a high state of excitement over the report that another of the hunted Acadians—some loved husband or brother—had been captured, killed, or brought in severely wounded; at another time a family would be given so many hours in which to deliver up an absent member, under a threat of military execution on the nearest of kin, in case of failure to comply; all this conspired to spread consternation among the peasantry, every family bowing under the weight of its own affliction.

Then came the order to fire the buildings. Squads of soldiers were detailed for the purpose, and the incendiary torch was conveyed to the remotest hamlet. The custom of the French Acadians was, as that of their descendants is still, to construct their houses a few rods apart along the same street, while their farms extend far back into the country. Thus the farming communities were nestled in small

villages, and their social proclivities led them to spend much of their time at each other's houses. The soldiers met with no resistance, for only women and children were there.—Hardly had the inhabitants a notice of their intentions ere the whole village was crackling with pitiless flames. The appeals for mercy were received by the soldiers with derision. The sick and feeble were removed to the open air; such of their valuables as the females, assisted by the children, could the more readily carry, were taken to a place of safety; on every side rose cries indicative of terror, or imploring help; mothers ran frantically about in search of their children, while a few stood wringing their hands in mute anguish at their overwhelming misfortunes.

Night settled down over that once beautiful and populous parish before the horrid work was completed. The flames from hundreds of burning buildings soon communicated to the woods; the very heavens were aglow with a baleful light, and the air was thick with smoke and flying cinders for miles around. The domesticated animals bellowed and ran wildly about; and it is said that the tumult was conveyed even to the wild beasts of the forest, so great was the conflagration. Can this be the work of man's hand?—man that was created in the image of his Maker? How must the hearts of men accustomed to war be steeled to bear unmoved such an exhibition of woe and devastation!

The four hundred French peasants immured in the chapel, could see the light of the burning dwellings reflected on the distant clouds; at times they could distinguish the roaring of the flames, and the screams of the affrighted women and children. There were well-to-do farmers in that church who beheld the accumulations of a life-time perishing in the general conflagration; fathers were there, whose little ones were mingling somewhere in the dreadful tumult, whether safe from harm, or whether in need of the strength of a father's love to protect—they would have given all to

know. Of tidings of their fate, both on that eventful night and during their subsequent life, many a heart-broken father was forever kept in ignorance!

But the scenes there enacted will ever remain, in a great measure, hidden from the knowledge of men.* We have no written evidence that any act of cruelty was perpetrated by the soldiers beyond what the nature of their work demanded; but the French could not, and the English would not, bear testimony were such the fact. When we consider the instructions of Governor Lawrence to "*distress* them as much as possible," and also the hatred which the soldiers bore towards everything connected with Papacy,—in short, where soldiers had both license and inclination, the teaching of past history will justify a suspicion there may have been more sickening scenes than history has put on record.

There have been instances, in the annals of the past, in which a country has been desolated, in times of actual war, and where the inhabitants were found in arms; but we defy all past history to produce a parallel case, in which an unarmed and peaceable people have suffered to such an extent as did the French Neutrals of Acadia at the hands of the New England troops.

*It is very remarkable, says Haliburton, that there are no traces of this important event, to be found among the records in the Secretary's Office at Halifax. I could not discover, that the correspondence had been preserved, or that the orders, returns, and memorials had ever been filed there. In the letter-book of Governor Lawrence, which is still extant, no communication to the Board of Trade is entered, from the 24th December, 1754 to the 5th August, 1756, if we except a common victualling return. The particulars of this affair seem to have been carefully concealed, although it is not now easy to assign the reason, unless the parties were, as in truth they well might be, ashamed of the transaction. I have, therefore, had much difficulty in ascertaining the facts. The marginal note in Minot's history of Massachusetts having referred to the Manuscript Journal of Colonel Winslow, I traced that book to the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society in Boston.

The 10th of September, 1755, was the day fixed upon for the departure of the people at Minas. Preparations having been completed, the prisoners were drawn up six deep, and the young men, one hundred and sixty-one in number, were ordered to go first on board the vessels. This they instantly and peremptorily refused to do, declaring they would not leave their parents; but expressed a willingness to comply with the order, provided they were permitted to embark with their families. This request was immediately rejected, and the troops were ordered to fix bayonets and advance toward the prisoners, a movement which had the effect of producing obedience on the part of the young men, who forthwith commenced their march.

The road from the chapel to the shore, just one mile in length, was crowded with women and children, who, on their knees, greeted them as they passed with their tears and their blessings, while the prisoners advanced with slow and reluctant steps, weeping, praying, and singing hymns. This detachment was followed by the seniors, who passed through the same scene of sorrow and distress. In this manner was the whole male population of the District of Minas put on board the five transports, stationed in the River Gaspereau, each vessel being guarded by six non-commissioned officers and eighty privates. As soon as the other vessels arrived, their wives and children followed, and the whole were placed on board.

The haste with which these measures were carried into execution, continues Haliburton, from whom we draw largely, did not admit of those preparations for their comfort, which, if unmerited by their disloyalty, were at least due in pity to the severity of their punishment. "Wives were torn from their husbands," and mothers, while it was "too late, saw their children left on the land, extending their arms with wildest entreaties." But the hurry, the confusion and excitement connected with the embarkation had scarcely

subsided, when the Provincials were appalled at the work of their own hands. The novelty and peculiarity of their situation could not but force itself upon the attention of even the unreflecting soldiery of Acadia: stationed in the midst of a beautiful and fertile country, they suddenly found themselves without a foe to subdue, and without a population to protect. The volumes of smoke which the half-expiring embers emitted, while they marked the site of the peasant's humble cottage, bore testimony to the extent of the work of destruction. For several successive evenings the cattle assembled round the smoldering ruins, as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters; while all the night long the faithful watch-dogs of the Neutrals howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the house that had sheltered them.

Five years after these events, some emigrants from Connecticut* were persuaded by the Colonial authorities to emigrate to this spot. They mention the scene of desolation that met their view, as defying all efforts at description. The ground was then whitened with the bleaching bones of the famished flocks and herds of the Neutrals, being actually found in heaps in sheltered places bordering the adjacent woods; the blackened ruins of their habitations still disfigured the landscape on every hand; and even portions of the carts that conveyed the Neutrals and their effects to the place of embarkation, were still moldering on the shores. But the most moving spectacle was some human beings who had been hid in the woods, and had not tasted bread for five years. In the famished and forlorn condition they were in, it was with difficulty they could be lured from their retreat; but at length the friendly behavior of the new settlers prevailed against the overwhelming fear they had of the English.

* Mrs. Kate Williams,

Governor Lawrence furnished the master of each of the transports containing the Neutrals, with a circular letter directed to the Governor of the colony to which the vessel, with its living cargo, was destined. As this letter contains the Governor's vindication of his act of extirpating a people, it is given entire.

"The success that has attended his Majesty's arms in driving the French from the encroachments they had made in this Province, furnished me with a favorable opportunity of reducing the French inhabitants of this colony to a proper obedience to his Majesty's government, or forcing them to quit the country. These inhabitants were permitted to remain in quiet possession of their lands upon condition they should take the oath of allegiance to the King within one year after the treaty of Utrecht, by which this Province was ceded to Great Britain; with this condition they have ever refused to comply, without having at the same time from the Governor an assurance in writing that they should not be called upon to bear arms in defense of the Province; and with this General Phillips did comply, of which step his Majesty disapproved: and the inhabitants pretending therefrom to be in a state of Neutrality between his Majesty and his enemies, have continually furnished the French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions and assistance in annoying the government; and while one part have abetted the French encroachments by their treachery, the other have countenanced them by open rebellion, and three hundred of them were actually found in arms in the French Fort at Beausejour when it surrendered.*

"Notwithstanding all their former bad behavior, as his Majesty was pleased to allow me to extend still further his Royal grace to such as would return to their duty, I offered such of them as had not been openly in arms against us, a

* Governor Lawrence does not seem to name any specific instances in which the inhabitants were found guilty in having "abetted the French encroachments by their treachery," but only prefers a general charge against them. He also cites the finding of three hundred Neutrals in arms at Beausejour as a reason for expelling the whole of them from the territory, after the English had agreed to pardon the offense.

continuance of the possession of their lands, if they would take the oath of allegiance, unqualified with any reservation whatever; but this they have most audaciously as well as unanimously refused, and if they would presume to do this when there is a large fleet of ships of war in the harbor, and a considerable land force in the Province, what might we not expect from them when the approaching winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops which are only hired from New England occasionally and for a small time, have returned home.

“As by this behavior the inhabitants have forfeited all title to their lands and any further favor from the government, I called together his Majesty’s Council, at which the Hon. Vice-Admiral Boscawen and Rear-Admiral Mostyn assisted, to consider by what means we could with the greatest security and effect rid ourselves of a set of people who would forever have been an obstruction to the intention of settling this colony and that it was now from their refusal of the oath absolutely incumbent on us to remove.

“As their numbers amount to near seven thousand persons, the driving them off with leave to go whither they pleased would doubtless have strengthened Canada with so considerable a number of inhabitants, and as they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as are able to bear arms might have been immediately employed in annoying this and the neighboring colonies. To prevent such an inconvenience it was judged a necessary and the only practicable measure to divide them among the Colonies where they may be of some use, as most of them are healthy, strong people; and as they cannot easily collect themselves together again it will be out of their power to do any mischief, and they may become profitable and it is possible, in time, faithful subjects.

“As this step was indispensably necessary to the security of this colony upon whose preservation from French encroachments the prosperity of North America is esteemed in a great measure dependent, I have not the least reason to doubt of Your Excellency’s concurrence, and that you will receive the inhabitants I now send you and dispose of them in such a manner as may best answer our design in preventing their reunion.”

Yet another indignity was offered the broken-hearted French. They had all along plead to be allowed the ministrations of their priests—prizing that privilege as the highest boon that could be granted. We find the following in a letter of Governor Lawrence to Board of Trade: “As the three French priests, Chevereuil, Daudin and Le Maire, were of no further use in this province after the removal of the French inhabitants, Admiral Boscawen has been so good as to take them on board of his fleet and is to give them a passage to England.” We now leave the exiles of Grand Pré, stowed away in over-crowded vessels, tempest-tost and despairing, family ties broken, bound to distant lands they knew not of, while we turn to the events transpiring in other parts of Acadia.

The English did not meet with like success at other points, in their scheme to take a nation captive. At Cumberland, the inhabitants were suspicious of something wrong, and fled to the woods on the approach of the troops. This did not prevent the burning of their dwellings; the English lost twenty-nine men in an attempt to burn a papist chapel. We will let Speakman, the officer in command, tell his own story.

Camp Cumberland, 5th September, 1755.

I am sorry my first letter should be the bearer of such melancholy news, as the defeat of a part of a detachment sent out under Major Frye, who sailed from this place with Captain Brentnall, myself and Mr. Endicott, Dr. March and Lieutenant Billings, and two hundred men, to burn the buildings at Shepody, Piziquid and Memramcook, and after having burned one hundred and eighty-one buildings at Shepody, we sailed on the 3d instant. After sailing up Petitcodiac river, and burned on both sides the river all the morning, about one o'clock Colonel Frye ordered Captain Adams to come to anchor, and land his men opposite the mess-house, in order to burn a small village below it, and join Mr. Endicott and Lieut. Billings with sixty men. Accordingly I and Dr. March went on shore with a party, but

by reason of the difficulty of landing, was obliged to march with twenty men, ten of which Dr. March took with him, though contrary to orders, and went to the village in order to burn the mess-house. When Mr. Endicott's party joined him, and before they could get the mess-house on fire, they were beset by above three hundred French and Indians, and our men, being straggling about, were soon defeated. Dr. March and five or six privates certainly killed; we had eleven more wounded, among whom is Lieutenant Billings, who is badly wounded, having received a shot through his left arm, and another through his body, which is looked upon as dangerous. I was in a small village adjoining, and had set fire to the houses just as I heard the attack, and repaired to the marsh and joined them, but before I got there the most of the men had left their officers, and with difficulty it was we got Mr. Billings away; our powder was wet, and little of it; no water and but two days' provisions, obliged us to return without proceeding any farther, after burning two hundred and fifty-three buildings with a large quantity of wheat and flax. The people here are much concerned for fear of your party meeting the same fate, being in the heart of a numerous and devilish crew, which I pray God avert.

THOMAS SPEAKMAN.

To the Hon. John Winslow,
Commander at Minas.

At Annapolis the proclamation was disobeyed; the inhabitants were apprehensive that some harm was intended them, and like those at Cumberland, had taken refuge in the neighboring woods. When the ships arrived to convey them from their country, a party of soldiers was sent on shore to bring them in, who found all the houses deserted. Haliburton says he was told by an eye-witness of the occurrence, that the houses and barns on the Annapolis River were burned. He also speaks of a woman living at the time that he wrote of Nova Scotia, who was with her parents when they delivered themselves up to the Commandant at Annapolis, and who gave a most affecting narrative of their sufferings and the dangers to which they were exposed. Hunger,

fatigue, and distress, finally compelled many of them to return and surrender themselves prisoners; some retired deeper into the depths of the forest, where they encamped with the Indians; while others wandered through the trackless woods to Chignecto, and so escaped into Canada.

It would appear that no misfortune was too great for this people to endure. While war and pillage had been going on around them for nearly half a century, their peculiar situation had enabled them to avoid taking part on either side. As a result, they had rapidly increased in wealth and numbers, through the benign influences of a life of industry and peace: now a sad change had come over their fortunes. Though the people had eluded the English soldiery, they saw their barns destroyed, their crops of grain and flax consumed, their houses burned and provisions wasted; they found themselves reduced to the alternative of a winter journey into Canada, a life among the Indians, or the uncertain fate of prisoners among a people, aliens in customs and in religion. An adverse fate seemed to await them, no matter which course they might choose. The sufferings of the women and children, ill-provided with clothing and provisions, exposed to the autumnal storms and the perils of a life in the wilderness, were said to defy description.

General Winslow remained some time in the Province after the sailing of the expatriated Acadians. Various apologies have been offered for his share in the cruel business. It is claimed he was a soldier, whose duty is to obey the order of his superior. He, by an artifice, had entrapped over four hundred unarmed peasants, against whom, as individuals, no charge was preferred; when these were helplessly within his power, he threatened them with military execution unless others, who had so far eluded his grasp, were immediately forthcoming; and lastly, he had violated his "word of honor as a soldier," for he had pledged "that whole families should go in the same vessel." Doubtless

he thought himself entitled to, and expected, consideration at the hands of the authorities of the Province, for the part he had acted. On the contrary, his subsequent sojourn there was embittered by the ungrateful treatment he received from Governor Lawrence, who made no scruple to transfer troops from his command to recruit the Halifax garrison. Winslow's expostulations were treated with cool contempt; and in his journal he prophesied "it will be the last New England force ever marched into Nova Scotia to defend their rights."

As a portion of the several cargoes of the expatriated people of Grand Pré were consigned to Boston, the home of Winslow, he must have been frequently reminded of his work, as he beheld, in his daily walks, the mute sufferings of the exiles as they dragged out their hopeless, helpless existence. Tradition says that temporary shelter was prepared for them on Boston Common, where they were recipients of such charity as chance threw in their way. Disease and want put a speedy end to the unhappy lives of many: others became gradually absorbed into the surrounding population.

Winslow lived to the age of seventy-three, his death occurring a short time previous to the War of the Revolution. It is worthy of remark that Winslow's family were among the refugees that were forced to flee to Nova Scotia—the soil from whence their ancestor had assisted in driving out the Neutrals a quarter of a century before; while a descendant of the exiled Acadians, General Sullivan, became a distinguished patriot.

History is replete with instances of the readiness of man, in every degree of enlightenment, to lay down his life in defense of his right to worship God as he chooses:—the Neutrals were denied the services of their priests, when such deprivation meant, according to the light of their faith, the loss of their hope of happiness in the world to come.

When a single household has been stripped of shelter and effects by a sudden unavoidable calamity, the occasion is one that calls forth the sympathy of the whole community. Here we have hundreds of French exiles, who had lost all, by a common calamity, in obedience to the command of those in authority.

Many a mother has clasped her babe more closely to her breast as she has recalled the circumstances, yet fresh in the mind of every reader, of those anxious parents, who, for so many long years have been wearily searching for their kidnapped boy, until their fortune is spent, and their foreheads have become wrinkled with the living sorrow: the fate of those parents but illustrates the experience of those of the Neutrals, who passed their lives in searching for members of their families which had been purposely scattered to prevent their reunion.

The banishment from one's country has ever been adjudged one of the most severe penalties known in jurisprudence: this, and the other extremes of human misery, the poor exiled Acadians suffered, by the voluntary acts of men differing only in language and religion.

We will append a few opinions from standard historical authorities, and close the chapter. The first is from Bell's translation of Garneau:

British agents treated them with the greatest rigor; the tribunals, by flagrant violations of the law, by systematic denials of justice, had become, for the people, objects of terror and hatred. The pettiest jack-in-office became a despot for them. "If you fail to supply my men with fuel," said a certain Captain Murray, "I will demolish your houses and make firewood of them." "If you don't take the oath of fidelity," added Governor Hobson, "I will batter your villages with my cannon." Nothing could tempt the honorable minds of Acadians to take an oath of fealty to aliens, repugnant to their consciences; an oath which, it was and

is the opinion of many, Britain had no right to exact. The Acadians were not British subjects, for they had not sworn fidelity: therefore they were not liable to be treated as rebels; neither ought they to be considered prisoners of war or rightly be transportable to France, since, during half a century, they had been left in possession of their lands on the simple condition of remaining neutral. But numerous adventurers, greedy incomers, looked upon their fair farms with covetous eyes. Smoldering cupidity soon burst into flame. Reasons of state polity were soon called in to justify the total expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia.—Although the far greater number of them had done no act which could be construed into a breach of neutrality, yet, in the horrible catastrophe preparing for them, the innocent and the guilty were to be involved in a common perdition.

In “Walsh’s Appeal” we find the following: Seven thousand of the obnoxious community were torn from their rustic homes, and transported in a way worthy of being compared with the “middle passage.” . . . No proof has ever been produced,—none exists, to support the charges which Entick prefers against the sufferers—of having engaged to join the French troops, and refused *absolutely* to take the oath of allegiance to the British sovereign. On the other hand, their own allegations, as he reports them, and which gives them strong titles to respect, are upheld by the tenor of the official declarations of the British authorities in Nova Scotia, who pleaded, little more in substance, than the positive orders of their government, and a supposed overruling necessity, as regarded the more secure dominion of that territory. Their descendants received universally from them the same tale of injustice and woe. It is consigned in the petition which they transmitted from Pennsylvania to the King of Great Britain, and which bears intrinsic evidence, too strong to be resisted by a feeling and unprejudiced read-

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH NEUTRALS

er, of the truth of all the details.* To complete the history I ought to add, that no attention whatever was paid to their prayer either for immediate redress, or a judicial hearing.

Says Haliburton: Upon an impartial review of the transactions of the period, it must be admitted that the transportation of the Acadians to distant colonies with all the marks of ignominy and guilt peculiar to convicts, was cruel: and although such a conclusion could not then be drawn, yet subsequent events have disclosed that their expulsion was unnecessary. It seems totally irreconcilable with the idea of justice entertained at this day, that those who are not involved in the guilt shall participate in the punishment; or that a whole community shall suffer for the misconduct of a part. It is, doubtless, a stain on the Provincial Councils, and we shall not attempt to justify that which all good men have agreed to condemn.

*The reader is referred to this petition, taken from the draught in the handwriting of Benezet, commencing on page 369 of this volume.

THE FRENCH NEUTRALS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

On the 19th and 20th of November, 1755, three vessels appeared in the Delaware, and dropped anchor below Philadelphia. They were the *Hannah*, the *Three Friends*, and the *Swan*,—the same vessels that, over two months before, had received their living cargoes at the Port Royallanding in the Basin of Annapolis. One of them, say the newspapers of the day, came up to town but was immediately ordered back. Governor Morris, it seems, was thrown into a terrible alarm, and on the day the first cargo of them arrived, he wrote to Governor Shirley:

“Two vessels are arrived here with upwards of three hundred Neutral French from Nova Scotia, whom Governor Lawrence has sent to remain in this Province, and I am at a very great loss to know what to do with them. The people here, as there is no military force of any kind, are very uneasy at the thought of having a number of enemies scattered in the very bowels of the country, who may go off from time to time with intelligence, and join their countrymen now employed against us, or foment some intestine commotion in conjunction with the Irish and German Catholics, in this and the neighboring Province. I, therefore, must beg your particular instructions in what manner I may best dispose of these people, as I am desirous of doing any thing that may contribute to his Majesty’s service. I have, in the meantime, put a guard out of the recruiting parties

now in town, on board of each vessel, and ordered these Neutrals to be supplied with provisions, which must be at the expense of the Crown, as I have no Provincial money in my hands; for this service I have prevailed on Capt. Morris, who is recruiting here for Colonel Dunbar's regiment, to postpone sending off his recruits till I could hear from you upon the head, which I hope to do by the return of the post."

Governor Morris found at least one man who shared his misgivings touching this untoward visit of the exiles. This was Jonathan Belcher, Chief Magistrate of New Jersey, father of Jonathan Belcher, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and member of the Council of that Province, who had, by his stern opinion that they were "rebels" and "recusants," fixed the doom of that people. The elder Belcher writes Morris as follows:

"I am truly surprised how it could ever enter the thoughts of those who had the ordering of the French Neutrals, or rather traitors and rebels to the Crown of Great Britain, to direct any of them into these Provinces, where we have already too great a number of foreigners for our own good and safety. I think they should have been transported directly to old France, and I entirely coincide with your honor that these people would readily join with the Irish Papists, &c., to the ruin and destruction of the King's Colonies, and should any attempt to land here [Elizabethtown], I should think, in duty to the King and to his good people under my care, to do all in my power to crush an attempt."

History does not record that a cargo of French Neutrals was ever received in New Jersey!

The bitter struggle between Protestantism and Romanism, which had convulsed the Old World, and deluged it with the most noble blood of the time; the numerous and sanguinary wars between the Georges and the Louises in Europe, and which were shared by their respective colonies

in America; and finally, the actual association of French Papists and savages on the frontiers of the English settlements, and who were at this time advancing in victorious array within three hundred miles of Philadelphia, had so affected the minds of the Protestant English colonists, that they looked upon Indians and French Papists alike, with a feeling of horror. A gentleman of Philadelphia gave but a mild expression of the public sentiment when he wrote,—“May God be pleased to give us success against all our copper-colored cannibals and French savages, equally cruel and perfidious in their natures.”

A short time before the arrival of the exiles, the following was published in the Philadelphia papers, under date of Halifax: “A few days since, three Frenchmen were taken up and imprisoned on suspicion of having poisoned some wells in this neighborhood. They are not tried yet, and it’s imagined if they are convicted thereof, they will have but a few hours to live after they are once condemned.”

The manifest hatred and prejudice exhibited in this brief paragraph, while it argues the poor fellows stood but a poor chance whether guilty or innocent, as plainly shows the condition of public sentiment at that time. Were it not that these accounts are fully substantiated by incontrovertible evidence, they could scarcely be credited, so strangely do they sound since national prejudice and religious intolerance have been dissipated before the light of knowledge and the benign influence of the Gospel.

It appears more incredible ; and unaccountable still from the fact that a complete reversion of public sentiment in this particular occurred in less than a quarter of a century. Washington had scarcely appeared in the Revolutionary camp at Boston, when he found preparations being made for burning the Pope in effigy. His memorable order of November 5th had the effect of putting an end to the custom of “insulting the religion” of brethren and co-workers.

When the French fleet arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, to aid the cause of the colonists, the Legislature made all haste to repeal a law on her statute-book forbidding a Roman Catholic to put foot upon her soil under pain of death. At Boston, a funeral procession traversed the streets, with a crucifix at its head and priests solemnly chanting; while the selectmen of Puritan Boston joined in the ceremony, giving this public mark of respect to the faith of their allies.

On the 24th of November, Governor Morris made the arrival of the Neutrals the subject of a special message to the Assembly, informing them he did not think it safe to permit them to land; but that a contagious disease having broken out on board ship, some of them were sent on shore on Province Island.

In the minutes of the Assembly of that Province, the following entry is made: "Antony Benezet, attending without, was called in and informed the House that he had, at the request of some of the members, visited the French Neutrals now on board sundry vessels in the river, near the city, and found that they were in great need of blankets, shirts, stockings, and other necessities; and he then withdrew, (whereupon) Resolved, That this House will allow such reasonable expenses as the said Benezet may be put to in furnishing the Neutral French now in the Province."

Thus we have no less evidence than a Legislative record, that the poor exiles of Nova Scotia were suffering for the necessities of life, who had not known before what want was; that their continued close confinement had caused an alarming disease to break out on their vessels,* demanding their instant removal, but the Governor of the Province was

*The Neutrals were kept on board from the middle of September to the close of November, not far short of three months, with a meager diet of pork and flour, without ever once being permitted to put foot on land.

afraid to let them land! We append a list of names from a subscription paper circulated in Philadelphia for their relief, showing how dangerous a people they were to be let loose on the town. The list runs thus:

“Widow Landry, blind and sickly; her daughter Bonny, blind; Widow Coprit, has a cancer in her breast; Widow Seville, always sickly; Ann LeBlanc, old and sickly; Widow LeBlanc, foolish and sickly; the two youngest orphan children of Philip Melançon; three orphan children of Paul Bujauld, the eldest sickly, a boy foolish, and a girl with an infirmity in her month; Baptist Galerm’s foolish child; Joseph Vincent, in a consumption; Widow Gautram, sickly, with a young child; Joseph Benoit, old and sickly; Peter Brassay, has a rupture; Peter Vincent, himself and wife sickly—three children, one blind, one very young, &c.” In these brief paragraphs we find evidences of the intensity of their sufferings on shipboard; and, notwithstanding the charitable attentions shown them after their arrival in Philadelphia, the statement is made that more than one half of their number died in a few weeks.

But the meagre records of those early times show there was another influence at work, which was to ameliorate the condition of the exile. We refer to hereditary national sympathies, which were strong enough to assert themselves in spite of the rancor of religious animosity, and work in the cause of humanity. There were then, in Quaker garb, living in Philadelphia, men of the French race, who though Huguenots, still felt kindly to Frenchmen like themselves. The Benezets and LeFevers, of Philadelphia, came from the same soil as did the Galerms and LeBlancs of Grand Pré; and we may add, the Quaker Huguenots of Philadelphia, by their acts toward their exiled brethren, did not in the least tarnish the reputation of the followers of William Penn for Christian charity and unostentatious benevolence. The Acadians, in their first memorial to the Assembly, were con-

strained to say—"Blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and we have, in every respect, been treated with Christian benevolence and charity."

The Assembly was specially convoked early in February, 1756, and on the 11th, attention was directed to the Neutrals by a petition from one of their number, Jean Baptiste Gaherm. This document contained a statement of the causes which led to their exile, an expression of gratitude for the kindness shown them, and a protestation of a passive loyalty (no one had a right to expect more) to the British Crown. So modest were they that it contained no prayer for specific assistance. A bill was passed for the relief, or, as its rather ambiguous title expressed it, for "dispersing" the inhabitants through the counties, which became a law on the 5th of March. By the provisions of this act the Acadians were to be distributed throughout the Province, in order "to give them an opportunity of exercising their own labor and industry." They were to be provided for at the public expense, while nothing like a separation of families is hinted at.

The French Neutrals exhibited what had been termed a species of "contumacy," though they claimed they were only asserting their just rights, which contributed not a little to their sufferings. They thought that by refusing to work they would force their recognition as prisoners of war, and as such, be entitled to be exchanged or sent back to France. This attempt failed in the object the Acadians had in view, and made the duty of kindness and protection on the part of their benefactors not an easy one: many were unwilling to help themselves. They were offered land, and implements to cultivate, and cows to stock it with; but these they refused to accept, as they could by no means agree to settle there.

One cannot read the memorials of those people without

being deeply moved with their passionate longings for their beloved Acadia, and their pathetic appeals to be restored to liberty, or at least transported to France. "We humbly pray," say they to the Assembly, "that you would extend your goodness so far as to give us leave to depart from hence, or be pleased to send us to our nation, or anywhere to join our country-people; but if you cannot grant us these favors, we desire that provision may be made for our subsistence so long as we are detained here.* If this, our humble request, should be refused, and our wives and children be suffered to perish before our eyes, how grievous will this be!—had we not better have died in our native land?"

On the meeting of the Assembly in October, 1756, there is a sad revelation on its records of the sufferings of these poor people,—made, too, not by them, but by one of the Commissioners appointed to take care of them. Disease and death had been busy among their number. Many had died of small-pox; and but for the offices of a kindly charity, many more would have perished miserably. The overseers of the rural townships refused to receive them—they were literally the dependants of the Quaker City. The prejudice entertained at that day against those of another religion, prevented the employment of such of the Neutrals as were willing to work; and the petition says, "many of them have had neither bread nor meat for many weeks together, and been necessitated to pilfer and steal for the support of life."

* Those who would justify the forced removal of the Acadians, and their retention among a strange people, would do well to explain why the principle laid down in this memorial is not founded in equity. They had committed no overt act making them amenable to the civil law, and, consequently, could be held only as prisoners of war, and as such were entitled, by the laws of war, to be maintained at the expense of the government so holding them; if they were not prisoners of war, then on what grounds were they denied the liberty to depart, agreeably to their request?

The simple Acadian farmers, who, a short year ago, in their once happy and secluded homes dwelt in ease and were surrounded with plenty, were becoming mendicant pilferers in the streets of Philadelphia. Who can contemplate the contrast unmoved?

This appeal resulted in the passage of an Act for binding out and settling such of the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia as are under age, and for maintaining the old, sick, and maimed, at the charge of the Province. It was of this measure—the compulsory binding out of the children to learn trades—that the exiles most loudly complained, and the most elaborate remonstrance that is to be found on the records, was induced by this law. The key-note of this appeal, was as before, a prayer for deliverance from captivity;—a prayer that was destined to be answered by the death-angel alone.

In the spring of 1757, Pennsylvania was honored by the presence of the new Commander-in-Chief, the Earl of Loudon. His was the first coronet that ever shone on this distant and simple land. Doubtless there were festivities and rejoicings when he came; but all this while the poor Neutrals were pining away in misery—not the less real because self-inflicted. Say the legislative records,—the authorities were instructed by the assembly to act for their relief, “so as to prevent their perishing from want.”

This Lord Loudon remained only a few days in Philadelphia, yet long enough to show by his acts that his high position did not prevent his partaking of the bigotry of the period, and to exercise his elevated function in office in heaping a new indignity on the Neutrals. He found it necessary to ascertain the exact number of Roman Catholics in the Province, so that the terrible danger from this source might be provided against. The following answer, returned to Loudon by the priest, is found among the Colonial Records:

Honored Sir:—I send you the number of Roman Catholics in this town, and of those whom I visit in the country. Mr. Schnieder is not in town to give an account of the Germans, but I have heard him often say. that the whole number of Roman Catholics, English, Irish, and Germans, including men, women and children, does not exceed two thousand. I remain,

ROBERT HARDY.

The sad remnant of the poor French Neutrals did not seem worth counting!

In the Colonial Records of 1757, is a sheriff's warrant, issued by the Governor, at the request of Lord Loudon, directing the arrest of Charles Le Blanc, Jean Baptiste Gaherm, Philip Melançon, Paul Bujauld and Jean Landy, as suspicious and evil-minded persons, who have uttered menacing speeches against his Majesty and his liege subjects. They are to be apprehended and committed to jail.

The following extract of a letter from Lord Loudon to William Pitt, is sufficiently curious and characteristic to sound strange at the present time: and there is something in it which looks more like the delivery of this people into slavery than anything else that Pennsylvania annals afford:

"25th April, 1757.

SIR:— When I was at Pennsylvania, I found that the French Neutrals there had been very mutinous, and had threatened to leave the women and children and go over to join the French in the back country; they sent me a memorial in French setting forth their grievances. I returned it and said I could receive no memorial from the King's subjects but in English, on which they had a general meeting at which they determined they would give no memorial but in French, and as I am informed they came to this resolution from looking on themselves entirely as French subjects.

"Captain Cotterell, who is Secretary for the Province of Nova Scotia, and is in the country for the recovery of his health, found among those Neutrals one who had been a

Spie of Cornwallis and afterwards of Governor Lawrence, who he tells me had behaved well both in giving accounts of what these people were doing and in bringing them intelligence of the situation and strength of the French forts, and in particular of Beausejour; by this man I learnt there were five principal leading men among them who stir up all the disturbance these people make in Pennsylvania, and who persuade them to go and join the enemy, and who prevent them from submitting to any regulation made in the country, or to allow their children to be put to work.

"On finding this to be the case, I thought it necessary for me to prevent, as far as I possibly could, such a junction to the enemy: on which I secured these five ringleaders and put them on board Captain Talkingham's ship, in order to his carrying them to England, to be disposed of as his Majesty's servants shall think proper; but I must inform you that if they are turned loose they will directly return and continue to raise all the disturbance in their power, therefore it appears to me that the safest way of keeping them would be to employ them as sailors on board ships of war.

LONDON."

"The Right Hon. William Pitt."

On the strength of a report (the truth of which he took no legal pains to ascertain) that they caused all the disturbance, and had, moreover, committed the indignity of memorializing London in French, that potentate thought the circumstance sufficient to warrant their condemnation, unheard, to a prison on board ships of war. It is quite possible that the men thus exiled—whose fate is not known—may have been the leaders, the speakers, and the writers for the exiles; for, after they were sent away, there is no record of any further remonstrance on the part of the French Neutrals.—They dwindled away in uncomplaining misery—pensioners on charity. They are seldom referred to in public documents.

The following is among the records of the Assembly, under date of February, 1761:

"We, the committee appointed to examine into the state of the French Neutrals, . . . do report—

"That the late extraordinary expenses charged by the overseers of the poor, have been occasioned by the general sickness which prevailed amongst them, in common with other inhabitants, during the last fall and part of the winter; this, added to the ordinary expenses of supporting the indigent widows, orphans, aged and decrepid persons, have greatly enlarged the accounts of this year. They have likewise a number of children, who by the late acts of the Assembly, ought to have been bound out to service, but their parents have always opposed the execution of these laws, on account of their religion; many of these children, when in health, require no assistance from the public; but in time of sickness, from the poverty of their parents, become objects of charity, and must perish without it.

"Your committee called together a number of their chief men, and acquainting them with the dissatisfaction of the House on finding the public expense so much increased by their opposition to those laws, which were framed with regard to them, and tending immediately to their ease and benefit, and assured them that, unless they could propose a method more agreeable to themselves for lightening the public burden, their children would be taken from them, and placed in such families as could maintain them, and some effectual method taken to prevent the ill effects of idleness in their young people.

"They answered, with appearance of great concern, they were very sorry to find themselves so expensive to the good people of this Province; reminded us of the late general sickness as the principal cause of it, which they hoped might not occur again during their continuance here; that in expectation of lessening this expense, and of obtaining some restitution for the loss of their estates, they had petitioned the King of Great Britain,* and humbly remonstrated to his Majesty the state of their peculiar sufferings, and as the Governor had been so kind as to transmit and recommend their said petition and remonstrance, they doubted not but the King would be so gracious as to grant a part of their country, sufficient for their families to settle on, where they

*See copy of this document beginning on page 367.

flatter themselves they should enjoy more health, and, free from the apprehension of their children being educated in families whose religious sentiments are so different from theirs. In the meantime they pray the indulgence of the government in suffering them to retain their children, as they find, by experience, that those few who are in Protestant families, soon become estranged and alienated from their parents; and, though anxious to return to Nova Scotia, they beg to be sent to old France, or anywhere, rather than part with their children: and they promise to incite and encourage all their young people, to be industrious in acquiring a competency for their own and their parents' subsistence, that they may not give occasion for complaints hereafter. How far they may succeed in this, or their application to the crown, is very uncertain. We are of opinion that nothing short of putting in execution the law, which directs the Overseers of the Poor to bind out their children, will so effectually lessen this expense, unless the Governor, with the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces, shall think fit to comply with their request and transport them out of this Province.

"Nevertheless, your Committee being moved with compassion for these unhappy people, do recommend them to the consideration of the House, as we hope that no great inconvenience can arise from the continuance of the public charity towards them for a few months longer: and think it just to observe, that there are amongst them numbers of industrious laboring men, who have been, during the late scarcity of laborers, of great service in the neighborhood of the city."

"The application to the Crown" referred to in the above, met with no response from the British authorities. When the agent of the Province of Massachusetts represented to Grenville, the British Minister, that his most Christian Majesty, looking upon the Acadians as of the number of those who had been his most faithful subjects, had signified his willingness to order transports for conveying them to France from the British Provinces, Grenville immediately replied, "That cannot be—that is contrary to our acts of naviga-

tion—how can the French Court send ships to our colonies?" as though the law, for once, could not be made to conform to the dictates of humanity! Louis XV, touched by the appeals sent him by the Neutrals transported to Louisiana, made overtures in vain, through his ministers to those of Great Britain, to be permitted to send his ships to convey them to France.

One more record, and one only, is to be found in the Assembly Journal of Pennsylvania, and that one tells a sad tale. It is dated January 4th, 1766:

"A petition from John Huil, of the city of Philadelphia, joiner, was presented to the house and read, setting forth that the petitioner has been employed from time to time to provide coffins for the French Neutrals who have died in and about this city, and has had his accounts regularly allowed and paid by the Government until lately; that he is informed by the gentlemen commissioners, who used to pay him, that they have no public money in their hands for the payments of such debts; that he has made sixteen coffins since their last settlement, without any countermand of his former order; he therefore prays the House to make such provisions for his materials and labor in the premises as to them shall seem meet. Ordered to lie on the table."

With this coffin-maker's memorial, so suggestive of the terrible sufferings and mournful end of the French exiles, the authentic history of this people in Pennsylvania ends. In the Annals of Watson we find it stated that "for a long time the remnant of the Neutrals occupied a row of frame huts on the north side of Pine Street, between Fifth and Sixth; and these ruined houses, known as the Neutral Huts, are remembered distinctly by persons now living." What at last became of these poor creatures, is not easy to determine; their very names have perished from among men! It appears from the official records that there was expended for the relief of the exiles by the Pennsylvania legislators

a sum not less than \$25,000, exclusive of the amount donated by private benefaction—always liberal in Philadelphia.

What a strange contrast does this sad story bear to the next visit of the French to Philadelphia, when they came as welcome auxiliaries! Though less than a score of years had passed, French soldiers and French priests went about the streets, no longer regarded with fear and distrust,* and then, we trust, they walked across the Potters' Field, and looked at the mouldering remains of the Neutral Huts, and traced out the crumbling mounds marking the graves of their once happy, but now sadly lamented countrymen, the exiled Acadians!

* Page 231, first paragraph.

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THE FRENCH NEUTRALS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston, 1755.

Messrs. Apthorp & Hancock to Samuel Harris, Dr.

To Hire of Sloop Seaflower, Samuel Harris, Master, Charter'd by Capt. Alex. Murray for Bringing off the French Inhabitants from Minas to the Province of the Massachusetts, 81 Tuns, from 29th Sept. to 1 Dec. is 2 months 2 days:
at £43 4 pr. month, £89 5 6

Governor Lawrence employed the Boston firm of Apthorp & Hancock as agents in settling with the owners of the vessels engaged to transport the Acadians: the above is a copy of a bill which serves to mark one of the steps of the transaction. Transported at a given amount per head, with a stated allowance of pork and flour per week, two Neutrals to every ton burden—a treatment savoring of no more consideration than if they had been dumb animals—such were the conditions attending the expulsion of the French Acadians. Such ships were hired as could be had cheapest—old hulks or otherwise—which were selected without any consideration for the comfort and safety of the cargo. Only a few of the prisoners were allowed on deck at one time for fear of a mutiny; the crowding of so great a number of people in close holds, subject to all the miseries of a tedious ocean voyage, wrought great changes among the captives. Death brought rest to many sufferers within a short time,

and their bodies were committed to the waves of the rolling ocean, without so much as observing one of the solemn rites of Christian burial.

When the ships containing the exiles arrived in Boston, the authorities would not permit them to land for several days. Here, as in Philadelphia, a Roman Catholic was held as one of the worst of foes to society. There was likelihood, too, that they would become a charge to the public, and it was some time before the Massachusetts authorities could bring themselves to decide on turning a thousand of these creatures loose on society." The suffering of the captives detained on board the vessels, is said to have been dreadful. One Hutchinson, (afterward Governor of Massachusetts,) who visited them on board, wrote an account of a case peculiarly distressing. He found a woman in a dying state from the foul atmosphere and uncomfortable quarters, but the regulations did not admit of her removal. Three small children were with her, requiring a mother's care. To save her life, Hutchinson had her conveyed to a house on shore, contrary to orders, at his own risk, where the poor widow was made comfortable. But disease had wrought too great havoc in her frame to admit of recovery; she wasted away and left her little ones without a protector: but just before she died she besought her benefactor "to ask the Governor, in the name of their common Savior, to let her children remain in the place where she died."

The Neutrals were finally permitted to land, and temporary quarters were fitted up for them on Boston Common; they were afterward distributed to the different towns. At first the Acadians set up the claim they were prisoners of war, and refused to work, but subsequently became an industrious element.

There was one great difficulty attending their employment, however, and that was the prejudice of the people against the admission of a papist into their families. Some

designing employers, too, would refuse to pay the exiles for work performed, trusting to this prejudice to bear them out in the wrong. One account is recorded where two grown-up sons were refused their wages, which amounted to fifteen "joes," and were barbarously beaten when they asked for their dues, one having his eye put out. Another instance occurred at Plymouth where a boy had been dragged off to sea by an unfeeling Captain, and the parents, upon remonstrating, were cruelly beaten. That there is some ground for believing the truth of these allegations appears evident from the fact that the Government of Massachusetts at once enacted laws with severe penalties for defrauding these persecuted people.

One large family of Neutrals was sent to Wilmington.—They represented that they were placed in a ruined house, without doors or windows, in an inclement season of the year. The mother, who was sick, was obliged to have her bed moved to leeward every time it rained. They had no fuel, were denied oxen to get any, and were not allowed to back it from the woods. A small amount of provisions was supplied, and they were told to earn the rest. The man complained of the water coming in upon his floor, and "every thing afloat;" he was told to "build a boat, then, and sail about in it!"

The Neutrals here do not appear to have been received with the considerate kindness their brethren were so fortunate to experience in Philadelphia. They were not permitted to go from one town to another, and if taken without a passport from two selectmen, they were to be imprisoned five days, or whipped ten lashes, or perhaps both. By this treatment, as useless as it was cruel, members of families were kept separated from their friends and from each other. The meager records of those times show that numerous petitions were sent, and advertisements were constantly circulated, to find lost relatives:—it being a feature peculiar

to their case, that they were left in the most distressing doubt as to the fate of those nearest and dearest to them.

In the midst of so much distrust and fanaticism, the unwelcome Gallo-Acadians were subjected to the most rigid surveillance; there was no deed so dark but they were believed to be capable of performing; and every species of crime committed in the vicinity, the perpetrators of which were unknown, was attributed with one consent to the papists. A petition from one town on the coast asks to have the Neutrals "removed to the interior, as they had a powder-house there, and was afraid they would blow them up." The student of human nature finds in this another illustration of the power that education and prejudice exert over the judgment of men. The Acadians themselves refer to this view entertained toward them by the English—that of being addicted to pillage and other warlike exploits. In one of their memorials they advance as a reason that they *could not* have possessed the belligerent characteristics attributed to them, from the fact that it was the absence of these qualities that enabled the English to obtain such unlimited power over them; otherwise, several thousand Acadians never would have submitted to a handful of English soldiers.

Says Mrs. Williams—"We cannot help remarking, while looking over the bills of expenses of that date, presented to the Government of Massachusetts, that however they might have suffered for food, lodging and clothing, it appears they did not lack for medicine. There was a bill of one Dr. Trowbridge, of Marshfield, for visiting nine French Neutrals, and administering nine vomits, one hundred and twenty-one powders, and eight blisters!"

The French Neutrals were greatly superstitious, and gave close attention to the "signs of the times." A blight fell upon the grain in the ear throughout New England; this the Neutrals attributed to the judgments of God for their

own fields wantonly laid waste." And the earthquake, which visited this continent only a few weeks after their arrival, the most severe ever known here, and which so shook the town of Boston as to ring the bells and throw down chimneys, was regarded by them "as the voice of a God who had not forgotten them."

New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and even Louisiana, each received a complement of the Acadian Neutrals. Wherever they went they exhibited similar characteristics, were supported as public paupers, having lost all incentive for any mode of industry, and pleading, in the most pathetic tones to be restored to Acadia, or to old France. In Louisiana they founded a canton to which they gave the ever dear name of Acadia. From thence they memorialized the French Crown, and that monarch, commiserating their condition, requested but was denied permission, on the part of the British Government, to send vessels for their transportation to their mother country. Notwithstanding this, some of the Acadians did reach France, and "their descendants now inhabit two flourishing communes wherein the peaceful habits and rustic peculiarities of their race are still recognizable among the verdant oases which dot the moorlands of Gascony."

Some of the exiles went as far as French Guiana: "and certain Frenchmen, banished themselves to Sinnamari, found there, in 1798, an Acadian family whose members received them hospitably; saying, 'You are welcome! Our ancestors were expelled from their country, even as you are now. They taught us to succor the unfortunate. So come into our cabin, and let us have the pleasure of rendering you such consolation therein as we have to bestow.' "

Count D'Estaing, when Governor of Hispaniola, commiserated this people in their misfortunes, and invited them to his Island, setting apart a particular district to their use.

A considerable colony availed themselves of the Count's offer; but neither they nor their kind benefactor had taken into consideration the danger attending a change of abode to a tropical climate. The result was that a pestilence broke out among them even before they could prepare themselves dwellings. A large number of the inhabitants died there, and the rest were forced to emigrate to a different climate. Their kind benefactor, the Count, on learning of their shocking mortality, went to visit their settlement. He found them in the most pitiable plight, crawling under the bushes, to screen themselves from the torrid sun, and lying down to die. A number found means to return to Nova Scotia; here they encamped in the wilderness, and it is believed many perished from hardships and exposure.

It appears from the records yet extant, that vessels continued to arrive at Boston, with new quotas of the exiles, until the Massachusetts government put a stop to the proceeding. The English soldiery were continually scouring Acadia, hunting the French from their hiding places in the mountains, and sending them off to Boston by the ship-load as fast as collected.

The mortality among the exiles sent to Georgia, South Carolina, and other southern ports, was greater than among those sent to the northern colonies, owing to the great difference in climate. In July, 1756, seven boats containing about ninety of these people coasted along shore from Georgia and the Carolinas, and put into a harbor in the southern part of Massachusetts. Receiving here some temporary relief, they sailed along the coast until they were stopped at Boston, where five of the party found and were restored to their families. Governor Lawrence, hearing of the circumstance, immediately sent a circular to each of the Governors on the Continent, stating he had been informed that some of the transported inhabitants were coasting from colony to colony on their return to Nova Scotia, and as "their success

in this enterprise would not only frustrate the design of this government in sending them away at so prodigious an expense, but would greatly endanger the safety of the Province, especially at this juncture, I think it my indispensable duty to entreat your Excellency to use your endeavors to prevent the accomplishment of so pernicious an undertaking by destroying their vessels."

It would seem that the Lords of Trade unwittingly committed themselves adverse to the means resorted to in this forced extirpation, as will be seen by the clause at the close of the following sentence, from a letter written to Governor Lawrence in 1757: "As to the conduct of the southern colonies in permitting those who were removed to coast along from one Province to another in order that they might get back to Nova Scotia, nothing can have been more absurd and blamable, and had not the Governors of New York and Massachusetts Bay prudently stopped them, there is no attempt, however desperate and cruel, which might not have been expected from persons *exasperated as they must have been with the treatment they had met with.*"

Could a course of persistent memorializing have availed the distressed Acadians, they might have had some hope of a mitigation of their sentence. Petitions were successively sent to the Governors of the Provinces on the Continent, to the Governor of Canada and to the Crowns of England and France; but their prayers failed of their purpose, and in many instances were treated with contempt. The poor exiles do not appear to have been welcomed anywhere, not even by their own countrymen; they were outcasts, feared and despised wherever they turned their steps. We close this chapter by an extract of a letter from the Board of Trade to Governor Lawrence. England had received a batch of the Neutrals, and the complaining tone of the letter shows the spirit in which the receipt of the invoice was considered. It may be premised that although the navigation laws pre-

vented the punctilious Briton from allowing French vessels to take off the Acadians from the colonies, these scruples were somehow set aside when the Neutrals became a burden to England, and means were speedily found to restore them to France. The extract reads:

“Notwithstanding what you say in your letter of the Acadians being received in the several Provinces to which they were sent, We must inform you that several hundred of them have since been sent over here from Virginia, and several from South Carolina, and that his Majesty has given orders to the Lords of Admiralty, to direct the Commission for Sick and Hurt Seamen to secure and maintain them.”—They further express themselves as “extremely anxious till we hear what occurs to you with respect to the settlement of those lands, which appears to us to be an object of the utmost importance.”

AFFAIRS IN ACADIA.

It was in a great measure owing to the effective coöperation of the New England troops that the Acadians were expatriated from their homes and possessions; it was to the New England Colonies that the larger share of that afflicted people were sent to be quartered upon the inhabitants.—The Massachusetts authorities did not favor being burdened with the expense of such a host of public paupers for the benefit of another Province, and the subject became one of sharp controversy. The Council directed Gov. Phipps to inform Governor Lawrence that Massachusetts “received them in expectation of being indemnified from all charges that might arise upon their account.” Gov. Phipps writes: “I would therefore desire of your Excellency that you would give orders for defraying all such charges as may be incurred by the receiving of those inhabitants already arrived; and as we are informed that more of these French inhabitants may be sent hither I make no doubt but that you will give orders respecting the charges that may arise by this government’s receiving and disposing of them also.”

One cause that rendered the people of Massachusetts still more sensitive on this point was, that some of the Neutrals, returning from Georgia and the Carolinas, had found their way back to Boston, as already mentioned, and were added to the complement of that colony. “What appeared pretty extraordinary was, that these people had been furnished

with passports from the Governors of Georgia, South Carolina and New York."

Gov. Shirley seems to have volunteered his services to quiet the apprehensions of the New Englanders on this point. He first observes to the Council that they themselves thought the expatriation of the Acadians was a necessary measure—thus inferring they were in a manner responsible for the consequences. He then adds; "I believe Governor Lawrence had no apprehension that it would occasion any considerable charge to this Province, or that it would be a disagreeable thing to have those people sent here: I am sorry that it is likely to prove so burdensome: I have it not in my power to support them at the charge of the Crown. You have a great deal of encouragement to depend on it that his Majesty will not suffer any unreasonable burthen to lie upon any of his colonies: I will make full representation of the state of this affair and in such a manner as I hope you will receive a favorable answer; and I shall be ready to join with you in proper measures to enable and induce these persons to provide for their own support and that of their families."

We have already referred to the occasional bad feeling exhibited between the New England soldiers and the Halifax regiments, and the complaint of Gen. Winslow of the arbitrary acts of Governor Lawrence in transferring the colonial troops and refusing to let them return according to the terms of their enlistment. The effect of these outrages of authority now became apparent. Governor Lawrence complains to Shirley of "the bad success of our officers in their recruiting upon the Continent;" that the New England troops still in the Province [February 1756] were clamoring so loudly to be dismissed that he was "inclined to think they were put upon it by some of their officers;" and, further, he was fearful he could not preserve the acquisitions made last year on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, and

that the whole Province would be continually subject to French inroads. Shirley proffers his assurances to the New England people, by way of encouraging new enlistments, in these words: "You may depend on it that the engagements made to the soldiers in order to encourage them to enlist shall be fully complied with."

A number of the Acadians having taken refuge among the bays and islands near Cape Sable, Governor Lawrence issued to Major Prebble "the necessary orders" for him to call at the Cape on his way home with the returning New England regiments which had been detained through the winter, and convey the inhabitants to Boston. Governor Lawrence in a letter to Shirley, says; "I flatter myself the Government of Massachusetts Bay will not find it inconvenient to receive such of these inhabitants as the Major may be able to carry away with him." The "necessary orders" read thus; "Seize as many of the inhabitants as possible, and carry them with you to Boston, where you will deliver them to his Excellency, Governor Shirley, with a letter you will receive with this order. You are, at all events, to burn and destroy the houses of the said inhabitants, confiscate their cattle and utensils of all kinds, and make a distribution of them to the troops under your command as a reward for the performance of this service, and to destroy such things as cannot be conveniently carried off."

This wretched remnant of Acadians at Cape Sable had found means to escape from the English, and by great labor had built huts, and provided themselves with necessities sufficient to enable them to subsist through the winter. To the credit of Major Prebble, be it said, he did not see fit to obey the order.

Some time subsequent [Sept. 15, 1758], the people of Cape Sable sent a memorial to the "Honorable Council in Boston," asking their protection, and that they might be permitted to remain where they were; or if that could not

be granted, they asked to be taken to New England. They were willing to pay taxes and to help maintain the war against France. They said they were in all about forty families, consisting of about one hundred and fifty souls. They conclude this petition with, "Dear Sirs, Do for us what lays in your power to settle us here and we will be your faithful subjects till death." The Council of Massachusetts did not see fit to grant the petition.

These people, having been reduced to the greatest extremities, in 1759 sent a deputation to Governor Lawrence with terms of surrender. Accordingly, armed vessels were sent to Cape Sable, and one hundred and fifty persons were taken on board, and conveyed to George's Island in Halifax Harbor, from which place they were afterward sent to England. Of their subsequent disposal, history is silent, but the supposition is they were permitted to return to France.

In December, 1759, the Governor submitted to the Council at Halifax, a letter from Col. Frye, the commanding officer at Fort Cumberland, stating that a number of French Acadians had come to the fort under a flag of truce as deputies for one hundred and ninety French people, residing in the departments of Petitcodiac and Memramcook, with proposals to surrender themselves. The petitioners said they were in a miserable condition for want of provisions, not having more among them than could, by the most prudent use, keep over two-thirds of them alive till spring; and begged of Col. Frye to allow them some, otherwise they must all starve. The Colonel wrote, he agreed the French should send sixty-three of their number to winter at Fort Cumberland, and that the remainder might come out of their obscure habitations into the French houses remaining at Petitcodiac and Memramcook Rivers, where they should live in peace till spring. Col. Frye mentioned that a few days later a delegation arrived from the neighborhood of Miramichi, with similar proposals. The result is in the

Colonel's own words: "I agreed that they should send two hundred and fifty of their people to winter here; and upon their informing me that they had twelve vessels in their custody, that were taken on the coast of Canso the summer past, I ordered the remainder of them to come with their effects in those vessels to Bay Verte, as soon in the spring as navigation opened. They seemed well satisfied and promised to come, but were afraid they should not be able to get their vessels all off (they were all driven on shore by the late terrible storm), but would bring all they could. . . . It pretty evidently appears that early in the spring there will be at this place and Bay Verte about nine hundred souls, to be disposed of as your Excellency shall see fit."

In January following, his Excellency communicated a letter he had received from Gen. Amherst, advising that the French inhabitants from St. John River be sent to Europe as prisoners of war. The advice of the Council was asked as to the expediency of sending not only these, but those who had delivered themselves up at Fort Cumberland, on board of transports to France. The Council "were of opinion that such a measure would be extremely proper and seemed to be absolutely necessary, in order to facilitate the settlement of the evacuated lands by the persons who are coming from the Continent for that purpose, who otherwise would be always liable to be obstructed in their progress by the incursions of these French inhabitants."

Belcher writes to the home government in January of 1762: "I have the honor to inform you that a very considerable body of Acadians, having withdrawn their allegiance from his Majesty, and retired to the northern part of this Province in the Gulf of the River St. Lawrence, and there having taken up arms, and by means of small vessels having infested the navigation of that river, I thought it my duty to check and prevent further progress of such great mischiefs. . . . I gave directions for equipping two small

vessels, on board of which Captain McKenzie, with some of the troops, proceeded about the end of October to the place of their rendezvous, where he surprised seven hundred and eighty-seven persons, including men, women and children. Of this number he brought away three hundred and thirty-five, as many as he could in that late season of the year remove, and the remainder have promised to come in when it shall be thought proper or convenient to request it."

The fact that piracies on English shipping in the Gulf had been perpetrated, coupled with the circumstance that some French Acadian settlers were located somewhere on the adjacent shores, was thought sufficient, such was the state of public sentiment, to make the one responsible for the other, without the trouble of direct proof, and without granting the accused the privilege of being heard in their own defense.

The French Neutrals remaining in the country found themselves despoiled of their lands, their property burned or carried off, and themselves hunted* with remorseless rigor among the mountain fastnesses. It is not much to be wondered at that the Acadians, seeing themselves treated in violation of the laws of war, justice or humanity, should see fit to make reprisals on the English. Governor Lawrence writes of the French inhabitants and Indians, that "by lying in wait in the roads where our parties pass and repass, have found opportunities of killing and scalping some of our people."

General Murray, then Governor of Canada, writes, in 1761, to Belcher, in relation to the settling of the Acadian Neutrals in Nova Scotia, thus: "The measure does not appear

* Says Governor Lawrence in a letter to the Board of Trade—"I am in hopes, when the troops ordered from Ireland shall arrive, it will be more in my power than it hitherto has been, to hunt them out of their lurking places, and possibly to drive them entirely out of the peninsula."

to me so eligible, as the very spot must renew to them, in all succeeding generations, the miseries the present one has endured, and will perhaps alienate forever their affections from its government however just and equitable it may be."

Early in the summer of 1762, M. de Tournay, having escaped from Brest with four ships and a bomb-ketch, arrived at the Bay of Bulls, Newfoundland, where he made prizes of English vessels, destroyed the stages and implements of fishery of the inhabitants along the coast, and captured the unimportant town of St. John. The English of Nova Scotia were thrown into a state of terrible alarm at the intelligence of this petty triumph, and were momentarily in expectation of a similar visitation. A general insurrection of the savages and of the few Acadians in the Province, was confidently looked for, as auxiliary to the anticipated attack of the French fleet. The Council of Nova Scotia made a formal address to Governor Belcher,* in which they laid down six reasons why the French should be removed out of the Province, in effect as follows:

1. From the insolence of the Indians and the threatening of the French, there is the highest reason to believe that the designs of the enemy were more extensive than what was carried to a successful issue.
2. That such prisoners as could have escaped would undoubtedly have taken arms with the enemy had the latter appeared on the coast.
3. That these people, seeing the English daily in possession of the lands forfeited and formerly occupied by themselves, will forever regret their loss, and will take favorable opportunity to regain them.

*Jonathan Belcher succeeded Governor Lawrence on the death of the latter in 1760. Lawrence did not live to witness the benefits it was anticipated would accrue to the English from the success of the scheme of forcibly extirpating fifteen thousand French inhabitants from the soil of their ancestors, which he labored so strenuously to accomplish.

4. That their religion, wherein they demonstrate the highest bigotry, must make them in their hearts enemies to a British government, however mild and beneficent.

5. That being born and bred among the savages, connected with them by intermarriage, professing the same religion, they never fail to inculcate in them a spirit of dislike to English heretics; and who may easily prevail upon the Indians to break peace and to chase away the English settlers from their habitations.

6. That these French Neutrals, as they are now collected together, are at present a heavy charge upon the [English] inhabitants, who are obliged to mount guard every third day and night in their turns, to prevent the escape of prisoners.

These six distinct charges, of which all but the latter were mere assumption, were formally considered by the Council; it is not to be wondered at, that where such evidence was deemed relevant, where the accusers also sat as judges, and where the judges would reap a benefit by a verdict against the accused, the poor Neutrals would have little chance of escaping condemnation, however innocent they might have been. "These, sir, and many more cogent reasons which might be enforced, and which will naturally occur to you," say the Council in their address, "we humbly submit to your consideration. and we flatter ourselves you will give the necessary orders that these French prisoners may be removed out of the Province."

The records of the Council at Halifax, under date of 26th July, 1762, read thus: "The Council do unanimously advise and recommend, in the most earnest manner, for the safety and security of this Province and its new settlements, that the Governor would be pleased to take the speediest method to collect and transport the said Acadians out of this Province; and do further advise, that as the Province of the Massachusetts is nearest adjacent, that the Governor would be pleased to cause them to be transported to that Province with all convenient dispatch." 9

Accordingly an embargo was laid on all the shipping, and martial law declared throughout the Province. The militia were ordered to collect the resident Acadians and bring them in to Halifax. Governor Belcher declared he put little confidence in the Acadians who had taken the oath, as "their wants and terrors only reduced them to it;"* and he applied to Major-General Amherst, who held the command of the English army in America, and who was then in New York, "for such means as may be sufficient to ward off any threatening danger."

General Amherst does not seem to have shared in the fears of Belcher. He had written to the Governor but a few days before, that if the removal of the remaining Acadians could add to either the security or the advantage of the Province of Nova Scotia, he would be the first to advise their expulsion: he did not see that they could have any thing to fear from these Acadians, but that great advantages might be reaped in employing them properly.

General Amherst writes Governor Belcher from New York, under date of August 30, 1762:

"Sir: By an express from Boston I was last night favored with your letter of the 12th inst., and at the same time learn that five transports, with Acadians, were arrived at that place.

"Although I can't help thinking that these people might have been kept in proper subjection while the troops remained in Nova Scotia, yet I am glad you have taken measures for removing them; . . . I doubt not but you have wrote to Governor Bernard concerning them, but I shall by return of express, desire he be pleased to dispose of the Acadians in such a manner as he judges best, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, where they must remain for the present, taking care to separate them as much as possible,

*Historians who have attempted to justify the expulsion of the Acadians, have set forth the claim, that had the French taken the Oath of Allegiance they might have retained possession of their lands.

to prevent their doing any mischief, as well as returning to their old habitations.

"I could have wished that those who inhabited the back part of the Province had been sent to Canada, agreeable to Governor Murray's request. . . . I am persuaded that neither the Acadians, Canadians, nor Indians, had any knowledge of the intentions of the enemy who have been landed at Newfoundland."

By the foregoing it will be seen that the resolution of the Government at Halifax, relative to transporting the Acadians, had been carried out. The vessels containing this unfortunate people arrived in Boston Harbor in due time, and were ordered to lie under the guns of Castle William until the General Assembly could take action in the premises. The dispatches from the Governor of Nova Scotia were produced before that body, who, instead of admitting the prisoners into the Province as requested, required Governor Bernard on no account to permit them to land, and become, as their predecessors had been, a charge to the public. A report of these proceedings was transmitted to General Amherst, but before a reply could be received the Assembly was prorogued. Massachusetts had received no compensation for the expenses already incurred on behalf of the Neutrals, and was not inclined longer to indulge Nova Scotia by quartering this additional number on her colonists.* Nothing therefore remained but for the transports to return with their passengers to Halifax; and the Bostonians had the satisfaction of seeing the vessels setting all sail for Nova Scotia waters before any further orders could be received concerning them.

Governor Belcher characterized the means made use of by Massachusetts in sending back the Acadians as "precipitate," and complained loudly of the persuasion brought to bear

* Subsequently this debt was paid by Parliament.

with Captain Brooks inducing him "to return with the Acadians back into this Province, to the great danger thereof, and the distress of all the inhabitants. By all which management, the public has incurred a very considerable and fruitless expense, and Sir Jeffrey Amherst's intention for the disposal of those prisoners has, for the present, been entirely baffled, and his expectations disappointed."

The Lords of Trade, in a resolution touching the complaint of Governor Belcher against the Massachusetts Colony, conveyed a mild but unmistakable reproof. "Their Lordships," so reads their record, "could not but be of opinion, that however expedient it might have been to have removed them at a time when the enterprises of the enemy threatened danger to the Province, and it was weakened by the employment of great part of the troops stationed there upon another service, yet as that danger is now over and hostilities between the two nations have ceased, it was neither necessary nor politic to remove them, as they might by a proper disposition, promote the interest of the colony, and be made useful members of society, agreeable to what appears to be the sentiments of General Amherst in his letter to the Governor."

In March, 1764, the number of Acadians remaining in the Province of Nova Scotia, was four hundred and five families, or nearly eighteen hundred souls, besides three hundred on Prince Edward Island. In December of that year "six hundred Neutrals departed for the French West Indies, where they were to settle on lands unfit for the sugar-cane, and although they had certain accounts that the climate had been fatal to the lives of several of their countrymen, who had gone there lately from Georgia and Carolina, their resolution was not to be shaken. Thus we are in the way of being relieved from these people who have been the bane of

* Governor Wilmot, successor to Governor Belcher.

the Province, and the terror of its settlements." This would leave but about fifteen hundred Acadian French within the Province of Nova Scotia in 1762, out of a population of nearly eighteen thousand in 1755, previous to the first expulsion from Acadian soil.

We are pleased to add that the suggestion of the Lords of Trade, to absorb into the population the remnant of French Neutrals within the Province, was finally, by slow degrees, carried into effect. In 1763, a resolution was taken, having the sanction of the Governor of Quebec and Nova Scotia, to remove all the remaining Acadians into some distant district of Canada. Happily that measure was never put into execution. Although the Acadian element helps swell the population, the French are peculiarly a distinctive people, preserving the customs and the language of their forefathers, even when surrounded with modern innovations; seldom intermarrying with their English or German neighbors, and living apart in French hamlets, from which the outer world is excluded. A brief history of the Madawaska settlement is here appended, with which our notice of the French Neutrals, except as spoken of incidentally, must close.

The Madawaska settlement is a range of clearing at least sixty miles in length, with the town of Madawaska as the center, occupying a favorable position at the confluence of the St. John and Madawaska Rivers. This settlement contains upwards of eight thousand inhabitants, half of them living within the State of Maine. Surrounding Madawaska is an immense and trackless forest which "covers an extent seven times that of the famous Black Forest of Germany at its largest expanse in modern times. The States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware could be lost together in this forest, and still leave about each a margin of wilderness sufficiently wide to make the exploration without a compass a work of desperate adventure."

The people of this settlement are descended from the French colonists who lived on the shores of the Bay of Fundy and the Basin of Minas, who fled from the Anglo-American troops under Moncton and Winslow, and took refuge in the forest. A portion of them fled up the River St. John to the present site of Frederickton, where they founded the village of St. Anne. Here among the rich meadows, bordered with groves of stately elms and other forest trees, the Minas and Port Royal refugees established themselves once more, and began to reap the benefits of well-directed industry, on a soil as fertile as any the sun ever shone upon. Seventeen years passed over the smiling village of St. Anne—then came another evil day for the French who had aforesaid “dwelt by the Basin of Minas.”

In 1784 came the American Loyalists into the Province; themselves exiles from their homes, and who, as their forefathers had done, drove away the unhappy French from their farms and firesides; in the following year the Governor of the Province, Sir Guy Carleton of Revolutionary fame, established the capital here, in view of the attractive natural features of the place.*

Provoked beyond endurance, the Acadians a second time set out in search of a home. They plunged into the depths of the forest, and evidently thought they would go far enough to escape being again molested. The traveler over the route at the present day will wonder how the families managed to traverse the many weary miles to their destination. Where was then an unbroken wilderness, now pretty villages dot the landscape, and cultivated fields meet the view. In the names of the settlements and the ancestry of their people the history of the British Flag can be traced. A few miles above Frederickton is the rural parish of Kingsclear,

*Nearly opposite is the mouth of the Nashwaak River, whose valley was settled by disbanded soldiers of the old Black Watch [42d Highlanders].

settled in 1784 by the 2d Battalion of New Jersey Loyalists. Further on is the parish of Prince William, originally settled by the King's dragoons, and now occupied by their descendants; also the hilly uplands of the parish of Queensbury, which were settled by the Queen's Rangers after the Revolutionary war; while beyond Woodstock are districts peopled by the descendants of the West India Rangers and New Brunswick Fencibles.

The tourist next passes the Grand Falls, and afterwards enters the Acadian-French settlements and farming districts. The rich tracts of intervale along the rivers in this locality, were sufficient to attract the Acadian refugees, and here they once more began to carve out a subsistence from the wilderness. A traveler writes: "It was pleasant to drive along the wide, flat intervale forming the Madawaska Valley; to see the rich crops of oats, buckwheat and potatoes, and the comfortable houses of the inhabitants; also the river, on which an occasional boat, laden with stores for the lumberers, with the help of stout horses, toiled against the current towards the rarely-visited headwaters of the tributary streams, where the virgin forests still stand unconscious of the ax." This district is studded with Roman Catholic chapels,* from whence, each morning and evening, are

*A curiosity in this place (Chicoutimi, a few miles below the most southern fall on the river) is a rude Catholic church, which is said to have been built by the Jesuit Missionaries upwards of a hundred years ago. It occupies the center of a grassy lawn, surrounded by a cluster of wood-crowned hills, and commands a fine prospect, not only of the Saguenay, but also of a spacious bay, into which there empties a noble mountain stream, now known as Chicoutimi River. In the belfry of this venerable church hangs a clear-toned bell, with an inscription upon it which the learning of Canada (with all its learned and unnumbered priests) has not yet been able to translate or expound. But great as is the mystery of this inscription, it is less mysterious to my mind than are the motives of the Romish Church in planting the cross in the remotest corners of the earth as in the mightiest of cities. (Charles Lanman.)

heard the matin and vesper bells, in that far off land. An occasional roadside shrine, in the shape of a wooden cross, erected at the intersection of roads, and surrounded by votive offerings, before which the peasantry, as they pass, always stop to cross themselves and offer a short invocation to the patron saint in whose honor the shrine is set up, is another evidence of the devotedness of a people to the religion of their fathers.

Another peculiarity of these settlements,—and exclusively a French custom, whose people are wont to live in hamlets rather than apart like the average American or English farmer,—is the narrow farms of the Acadians. The dwellings of a farming community are in clusters on two sides of a village street, while the farms, only a few rods in width, run far back into the country. The following is a picture of a Madawaska home:

“The whole aspect of the farm was that of *metairie* in Normandy; the outer doors of the house gaudily painted, the panels of a different color from the frame,—the large, open, uncarpeted room, with its bare, shining floor,—the lasses at the spinning-wheel,—the French costumes and appearance of Madame and her sons and daughters,—all carried me back to the other side of the Atlantic.”

DOWNFALL OF FRENCH RULE IN AMERICA.

In January, 1757, Lord Loudon arrived in Boston, clothed with the chief command of the army in America. He called together his military council, Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia being present and allowed a voice in the consultation. In the measures proposed for the overthrow of the French in America, it was decided not to attempt a complete reduction at once; but by concentrating all their force at one point, win their way gradually on French territory. The capture of Louisbourg was adjudged the first enterprise to be attempted, and Halifax was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous for the fleet and army destined for the work of demolition. In July of that year Admiral Holborne arrived at Halifax with a powerful fleet, having on board five thousand land troops under command of Viscount Howe; here the force was augmented by Lord Loudon in person, with six thousand infantry from New York. Some small vessels were sent out as scouts to reconnoitre the enemy, which brought back the unwelcome news that a large fleet of French ships of war and transports were riding safe at anchor in the harbor of Louisbourg. Though many were of opinion that the number of the enemy was greatly overrated, the intelligence occasioned extraordinary fluctuations in the Council of War. While the counsels for prosecuting the expedition with vigor and the counter proposition to give

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it up entirely, were being urged with vehemence, a packet bound from Louisbourg to France was captured by an English cruiser stationed at New-Foundland; on board of this vessel were found letters by which it appeared that there were in Louisbourg, six thousand regular troops, three thousand resident soldiers, and thirteen hundred Indians, seventeen ships of the line and three frigates being moored in the harbor; that the place was well supplied with provisions and all kinds of military stores, and that the enemy wished for nothing more than to be attacked. The commanders at Halifax were fully conscious of the futility of attempting a reduction of Louisbourg under those circumstances, and also how fatal an unsuccessful attempt would be to British interests in America: it was resolved to postpone the attack until some more convenient opportunity. Admiral Holborne determined on taking a look at the enemy, however, and on the 20th of August he appeared before Louisbourg harbor with fifteen ships of the line, four frigates and five ships. The French Admiral at once made signal to unmoor, mistaking the display of English shipping as a challenge to a combat outside: Holborne's intention being simply to reconnoitre, and not deeming himself strong enough to cope with so formidable an adversary, he sailed back to Halifax. A few weeks afterwards, having been joined in the meantime by four additional ships of war, Admiral Holborne returned to Louisbourg, determined to risk a naval engagement with the enemy; the French Admiral, La Motte, was in no humor to fight this time, unsupported by the guns of the fort—probably deeming the issue too great to warrant, voluntarily, his yielding any advantage.

The English squadron continued cruising before Louisbourg until the 25th, when a terrible storm broke upon them. In twelve hours the whole fleet were driven within two miles of the breakers on the rock-bound coast of Cape Breton, and total destruction seemed inevitable; providen-

tially the wind veered in time to permit the vessels to escape with a single exception. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their cargoes overboard, half of the wrecked vessel's crew were lost, and the whole fleet returned to England in a shattered condition.

This unsuccessful expedition against Louisbourg, by drawing so many troops and valuable officers away from the Continent, left the frontiers of the Colonies in an exposed situation; the French, seizing their opportunity had taken full possession of Lake Champlain and Lake George, and likewise of all the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. But the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the Premiership inspired new hopes in all parties at home and in America. Immediately on assuming the duties of that office he wrote a circular letter to the Colonies, assuring them of a determination on his part of sending out an immense armament early in the season, and calling upon them to coöperate with him with as large levies of Provincial troops as they could raise. The latter were ready to take the field early in May, previous to which Admiral Boscawen had arrived at Halifax with a formidable fleet, and a powerful army under General Amherst.

The combined forces, with the magnificent array of one hundred and fifty sail, and fourteen thousand men, put to sea, and on the 2d of June, 1758, anchored in Gabarus Bay, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The place was garrisoned by twenty-five hundred regular troops and three hundred militia, under Chevalier Drucor: they were afterwards reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians and Indians. Six French ships and five frigates guarded the harbor, three of which were sunk at the entrance to obstruct the passage of the English vessels.

Six days elapsed before the violence of the surf admitted of an attempt to embark. On the seventh the order was given to effect a landing. The troops were distributed in

three divisions, the better to accomplish their purpose. The right and center under command of Governor Lawrence and General Whitmore, were directed to make a show of landing, to engage the attention of the French, while the real attempt was made in another quarter by the left division under General Wolfe. The French reserved their fire until the boats had nearly reached the shore, when they opened upon them with a murderous discharge of grape and musketry; this had the effect, aided by the surf which was now high, to overset some of the boats, and create a temporary consternation among the English. But the spirit and example of General Wolfe inspired his men to a heroic effort, and the beach was gained at the creek of Cormoran, not without severe loss: and the French were compelled to take shelter in the town.

The stores and artillery having with great difficulty been landed, General Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Light House Point, an important post from which the shipping in the harbor and the town might be greatly annoyed. On his approach the French abandoned the place; the English put several strong batteries there, and by the 25th, had effectually silenced the Island battery, which was directly opposed to it. The besieged had tried the effect of several sallies on the assailants, but to little purpose; while the English were making slow and cautious approaches to the fortress.

Two of the French fleet had eluded the vigilance of the blockading ship and escaped; a third, on making a similar attempt, was captured. About a month afterward, one of the largest of the French ships blew up; the explosion having communicated the fire to two other vessels, all were consumed to the water's edge. Admiral Boscawen, following up these reverses of the enemy, sent six hundred men in boats to make an attempt on the two ships of the line yet remaining of the French fleet in the Basin,—the *Prudent*.

a seventy-four, and the *Bienfaisant*, a sixty-four gun ship. The former, which had been run aground to escape capture, was destroyed; the latter was towed past the batteries in triumph, the English losing but seven men killed and nine wounded. This gallant exploit put the English in possession of the harbor. In the meantime several breaches had been made in the works by the continual cannonade, so the place was no longer considered defensible. The Governor offered to capitulate on conditions which were rejected by the English, who believed they were in a way to enforce their own terms. Admiral Boscawen demanded that the garrison should surrender themselves prisoners of war, or sustain an assault by sea and land; to these conditions, humiliating as they were, the French were obliged to submit. The terms stipulated that the garrison were to be conveyed prisoners of war to England; that the provisions and military stores in the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John be delivered over to the English; and that the merchants and clerks who had not carried arms, be sent to France.

On the 27th of July, three companies of Grenadiers took possession of the Dauphin Gate, and Gen. Whitmore was detached into the fortress to see the garrison lay down their arms and deliver up their colors on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards within the town. Thus at the expense of about four hundred men, in killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important Island of Cape Breton and the strong fortress of Louisbourg, containing two hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of provisions and military stores. The loss of this fortress was the more severely felt by the French King, as it was accompanied by the destruction of so many line-of-battle ships and frigates.

The intelligence of this brilliant victory to the British flag was conveyed to England by a swift-sailing vessel dispatched for that purpose, and which likewise conveyed

eleven pairs of colors taken from the French. These colors were, by order of his Majesty, carried in pompous parade from the Palace of Kensington to St. Paul's Cathedral, escorted by detachments of Horse and Foot Guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, where the captive flags were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon and other demonstrative expressions of triumph and exultation.

Some vessels were sent to take possession of the Island of St. John, [Prince Edward Island,] which, from its position in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the fertility of its soil, had since the beginning of the war supplied Quebec with a considerable quantity of provisions. It was likewise the asylum to which the French Neutrals of Annapolis had fled three years previous, and the retreat from whence they and their Indian allies used to make their irruptions into Nova Scotia. Over four thousand French inhabitants submitted and brought in their arms. In the Governor's quarters were found several English scalps that had been brought in by the Indians, who had been awarded by the French a certain premium on every scalp. The Island was found to be well stocked with cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn every year for the Quebec market.

Previous to the fall of Louisbourg the cause of the French in America began to wane; her decline after that event was rapid. After an ill-judged but gallant assault upon Ticouderoga, in which Amhercrombie was defeated with the loss of two thousand men, he dispatched Colonel Bradstreet with a force against Frontenac,* by way of Oswego and Lake Ontario. The capture of this was easily effected, in which were found sixty pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of stores. Bradstreet lost very few men in action; but a terrible disorder broke out in camp which proved fatal to

* Kingston, Upper Canada.

five hundred of the gallant little army. On their return they built a fort on the site of Rome, N. Y., to which they gave the name of Fort Stanwix.

The reduction of Fort du Quesne was soon afterward accomplished by the forces under General Forbes, who in compliment to the Premier under whose auspices these operations were conducted, gave it the name of Pittsburg.

Major General Amherst had now [1759] succeeded to the command of the army in North America; he signalized his appointment by the bold project of attempting the entire conquest of Canada. His plan was to send three powerful armies into the country by different routes, and simultaneously attack all the strongholds of the French. The capture of Quebec, the reduction of Niagara, and the investment of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by the several divisions of the army, were completely successful. Military men have condemned this plan as subject to many casualties which might have frustrated its execution and endangered the safety of each division of the army, but circumstances were propitious to the success of the English arms.

The division sent against Quebec was commanded by General Wolfe, and consisted of eight thousand troops under convoy of twenty-two line-of-battle ships, and a like number of frigates and smaller vessels. An unsuccessful attack on the French, July 31st, resulted in a loss of five hundred of the English troops. At the beginning of September, as Wolfe lay in his tent prostrate from fever, brought on by excessive labor and over-anxiety, he called a council of war; on the suggestion of Townsend, it was decided to make a second attempt by scaling the heights of Abraham, and assailing the town on its weakest side. Wolfe heartily endorsed the plan, and he arose from his sick-bed to lead the assault in person. The English were encamped at Montmorenci, below the town; on the 13th the camp was broken up, the soldiers embarked on board several vessels of the

fleet, and at evening ascended several miles above the city. Leaving the ships at midnight, they embarked in flat-boats, and with muffled oars dropped silently down stream, arriving opposite the mouth of a ravine a mile and a half from the city, at which point they effected a landing.

Lieutenant-Colonel Howe led the van up the ravine at dawn, in the face of a sharp fire from the guard above; he was closely followed by his generals and the remainder of the troops, with artillery; at sunrise the entire army stood in battle array on the Plains of Abraham.

The surprise of Montcalm at this sudden appearance of a hostile army before the city at its most vulnerable point, was only equaled by his fears for the safety of the place. He was already out-generaled,—nothing now remained but to fight as a soldier. He brought his army across the St. Charles River, and by nine o'clock the French were drawn up in line of battle between the British troops and the city.

The moment was big with interest to the two great powers of Europe; this battle was to determine the supremacy of the *fleur-de-lis*, or the banner and cross of St. George, on the American Continent. Montcalm, with 7,500 well-trained soldiers, confronted 4,800 British regulars under Wolfe. Both generals were young men, enjoying the full confidence of the soldiers, ranking among the highest of the military chieftains of Europe, and each ambitious to signalize the day by a grand victory for his respective King. The scene was beautifully grand—the quiet landscape, the rolling river, the spires and tin roofs of the city, the evolutions of the troops, all lighted up by the rays of the morning sun, and enlivened by the blare of trumpets, the roll of drums and the strains of martial music. Yet the beautiful scene was in a moment to be changed. The ominous roll of musketry, the smoke of battle, the angered voices of the combatants, and the groans of the wounded and dying, were to succeed this scene of earthly magnificence.

Montcalm led the attack. The French came on with their wonted impetuosity. The opposing ranks of the English stood with arms at rest as if on parade, motionless only as they closed up the ghastly gaps after receiving each volley,—then as calmly awaiting the next. Nearer and nearer came the platoons of the French; deadlier the stream of leaden fire that rained against the living wall; yet not a British soldier vacated his post only as his life went out, when his comrades silently and mechanically closed up the breach, and presented the same unbroken front of scarlet-coated veterans. The ranks of the English were fast melting away before the murderous fire; fully one-fourth of their number had already fallen, yet not a shot had been returned, not a tittle of the strictest military discipline had been violated;—they stood calmly awaiting the order to fire.

The practical eye of Wolfe now saw the opportune moment had arrived. The French were within forty yards of the British lines, and still advancing. The necessary orders were given. Every gun along the whole line was brought into position with all the coolness and precision of a review parade, as if the whole were one great machine, moving obediently to the touch of the engineer. A flame of fire belched forth from hundreds of black-throated barrels as though from a single gun: the French line was carried forward by its own momentum a few paces, then reeled, and it seemed the whole rank had fallen. When the smoke from the volley had cleared away, what a scene of carnage was there disclosed! Before the French could recover, Wolfe gave the order to charge; in a few moments the French were flying in every direction, leaving the British masters of the field. England, through the valor of the heroic Wolfe, had won a right to assert her supremacy over the soil of America.

Wolfe and Montcalm were both fatally wounded on the field of battle, and the concluding movements of the con-

flict were carried on by their officers. As the eyes of Wolfe were closing in death, his well-trained ear detected shouts of victory. "The French give way everywhere," said an officer in response to his inquiry. "Then," said he, "I die contented." With one more effort—the last order he was to give, the last word he was to speak—he said; "Tell Col. Burton to march Webb's regiment with all speed to St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat," and immediately expired.

Montcalm, on receiving his mortal wound, was carried into the city; and when told that he must die, he said, "So much the better; I shall then be spared the mortification of seeing the surrender of Quebec."

Great was the enthusiasm displayed by the English people everywhere, on the overthrow of French domination on American soil. Illuminations, patriotic addresses, and public rejoicings were given in every town throughout England, except the little Kentish village of Westerham, where lived the widowed mother of Wolfe, who now mourned the death of an only son.

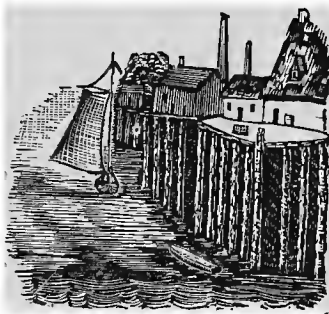
It may be that other mothers have felt the pangs of separation from a heart's idol as poignantly as did this widow, but we doubt if a mother's grief was ever before shared with such unanimity by a whole nation, or that a hero's death was ever more gratifying to the heart of the true soldier than was that of Wolfe expiring amid the salvos of artillery, the shouts of victory, and assured of the blessings of the English-speaking people of two Continents.

Wolfe's remains were embalmed and sent to England. They were landed at Plymouth with the highest honors, minute guns were fired, the flags hoisted at half-mast, and an escort with arms reversed received the coffin on the shore. They were then conveyed to Greenwich, and buried beside those of his father who had died but a few months before.

The remains of his brave competitor, Montcalm, still re-

pose in the Ursuline Convent at Quebec,* in an excavation in its wall made by a shell during the action in which he lost his life. The French and English residents of the city have erected a monument on the battle-field, dedicated to the linked memory of Wolfe and Montcalm.

* Montcalm's skull is carefully preserved under glass.



LOW TIDE.

ENGLISH OCCUPATION.

With the fall of Quebec and other French reverses, the English became complete masters of a territory which had been a source of bitter strife for upwards of two centuries, and a definite treaty was signed at Paris between France and England on the 10th of February, 1763.

The English deemed it inexpedient to maintain a costly garrison at Louisbourg; and as its capture at any future period by the French might endanger the safety of Nova Scotia, the British crown determined on its reduction. Accordingly, a company of sappers and miners had been sent, who, in the space of six months, at an immense expenditure of money and labor, reduced the fortifications to a heap of rubbish by means of mines, judiciously exploded. The walls and glacis were leveled with the ditch, and nothing was left standing but the private houses, which had been badly torn and shattered during the siege, together with the hospital and a barrack capable of holding three hundred men.* At the present time neither roof nor spire remains,—no street, convent, church, nor barrack. “The green turf covers all—

* Much of the building-stone composing this fortress, so it is said, was transported hither from France. At its reduction, considerable of this material was conveyed to distant parts. Some of the public buildings in Halifax, and many of the stone edifices in the various cities along the New England coast as far as Boston, contain portions of this once powerful fortress.

even the foundations of the houses are buried. It is a city without an inhabitant. Dismounted cannon, broken bayonets, gun-locks, shot and shell, corroded and corroding, in silence and desolation, with no signs of life visible upon these war-like battlements except the flocks of sheep,—these are the only relics of once powerful Louisbourg.”

Says a recent writer, “With the Treaty of Paris, the history of Acadia ends.” In our opinion the record would be quite incomplete, did we not include the subsequent fortunes of the many Acadians who eventually returned to the country, if not to the soil, from whence they were expatriated; or failed to mention the circumstances attending the re-peopling of the vast amount of fertile lands vacated by the dispossessed French farmers.

The local government at Halifax went vigorously to work to insure the tranquility of the Province, and to induce emigration from the Continent. In 1761 there arrived from Boston six vessels, having on board two hundred settlers, and four schooners from Rhode Island with half that number; New London furnished one hundred emigrants, and Plymouth one hundred and eighty, making in all five hundred and eighty souls. Two hundred persons arrived from the north of Ireland about the same time, followed by adventurers from other places: these early emigrants laid the foundations of those beautiful townships which line the shores of the Bay of Fundy and Basin of Minas.

His Majesty's ministers, soon after the removal of the French, expressed a wish that their cultivated lands should be reserved for military settlers; but Governor Lawrence, who had been bred to the profession of arms, and was well acquainted with the habits of soldiers, prevailed upon the Government to relinquish the design at that time. Lawrence's objections were, that besides their transportation, such settlers must be furnished with provisions for one year, with materials and tools for building, implements of hus-

bandry, and cattle to stock their lands; for soldiers, who have nothing of their own to set out with, will necessarily be in want of everything at the beginning. According to his ideas of the military, they are the least qualified, from their occupation as soldiers, of any class of men to establish a new country, where they must encounter difficulties with which they are altogether unacquainted. He further asserted that every soldier that had come into that Province had either quitted it or become a dramseller.

These remonstrances had the desired effect, and those valuable reserves were thrown open to an industrious class, whose occupation had always been the cultivation of the soil. The great distance of Nova Scotia from the New England colonies, the expense of moving families thither, the opposition of friends and fear of the Indians, tended greatly to check the tide of emigration to that Province, of which such glowing accounts had been given. However, on the 12th of December, 1760, Governor Belcher wrote the Board of Trade: "I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships that the townships of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth, are so well established that everything bears a hopeful appearance; as soon as these townships were laid out by the surveyor, palisaded forts were erected in each of them, with room to secure all the inhabitants. After the necessary business, the proper season coming on, they were employed in gathering hay for the winter." About this time they put some corn and roots into the ground. The late Governor "having made a progress into these settlements," after having regulated several matters, the repair of the dikes was his first care. For this purpose the inhabitants, with their cattle and carriages, at their own expense, were joined with some of the Provincial troops and Acadians, who were best acquainted with works of this kind.

The next public improvement was the making of a road from Halifax to these settlements. All the troops that

could be spared from duty were employed on this work.—The passage between these points was very difficult at that time, on account of dense swamps and broken bridges.* The greater part of the expense attending the labor, wrote Governor Belcher, will be defrayed “out of a sum of money appropriated from a seizure of molasses.”

Many of the people were in good circumstances, having transported themselves and their effects at their own expense; as for the poorer class, there was provision made for them until the following August. In the township of Liverpool, says the Governor, “they are now employed in building three vessels for the fishery, have laid in hay for the winter fodder of their cattle, and have raised a considerable quantity of roots, and erected a grist and saw mill. They have sixteen sail of fishing schooners, and although some of them came late in the season, they have cured near five hundred quintals of fish. In regard to the townships of Granville and Annapolis, about thirty proprietors are settled in each; as they came late in the year, they did not bring all their families, but are preparing against their arrival in the spring. . . . The perfect establishment of the settlements depends, in a very great degree, in the repairs of the dikes, for the security of the marsh lands, from whence the support of the inhabitants will become easy and

*Dr. M'Gregor, one of the early Presbyterian preachers sent over from Scotland into this Province, thus describes one of these bridges: “Over an upright pier, on each side of the river, were laid three long logs, at least forty-five feet long, so as to extend fifteen feet beyond the pier on the river, the other end extending thirty feet on the land, and having heavy logs laid across them near the end, to overbalance any weight that might be on the bridge. The long logs are called butments. Three other logs were laid with their ends resting on the inner ends of the butments, fifteen feet from the piers, filling the interval space. The round of the upper surface of the log was hewn away by the ax, and thus the bridge was finished with nine long logs. Spans of ninety or one hundred feet are made in this way.”

plentiful. I humbly conceive that the dikes may be put into very good condition if, with your Lordship's approbation, one hundred of the French inhabitants may be employed in different parts of the Province to assist and instruct in their repairs, the new settlers having come from a country in which such works are not needed."

In the summer of 1761, thirty families from the Province of Massachusetts landed in Onslow, at the head of Cobequid Bay. They brought with them twenty head of horned cattle, eight horses and seventy sheep; but their stock of provisions was altogether inadequate to their wants, and was consumed in six months. From this circumstance they were reduced to great privations. During the second year the government supplied them with Indian corn, and they added to their food supply by fishing and hunting. On their arrival they found the country laid waste to prevent the return of the Acadians, but five hundred and seventy acres of marsh land were still under dike; and about forty acres of upland around the ruined houses, which were partially overgrown with shrubs, were cleared. Remains of the French roads, which were confined to the marshes, are visible to this day. Near the sites of their buildings are found farming implements and kitchen utensils, which they had buried in the earth under the hope of being permitted some day to return to their possessions.

At this time New Brunswick was included in Nova Scotia, and denominated the County of Sunbury. The extreme fertility of the intervalles of New Brunswick had attracted the attention of the British officers who had been stationed in the country. Some of them procured extensive grants of territory; among them General Gage, a large tract at the head of the Long Reach, St. John River; Col. Spry, a large grant near Jemseg; Col. Maugers, a grant at Maugers Island; and Major Dight secured title to five thousand acres since known as the Ten Lots in Sheffield. It was unfortun-

ately the case then as now, that favorites of those in power, and moneyed speculators, secure monopolies to the detriment of the masses and the consequent hindrance of national prosperity.

In 1763, the firm of Simons, Hazen & White, established themselves at St. John Harbor, and a Scotchman named John Anderson selected the flat of Frederickton for his farm and trading post. Several families from the Parishes of Rowley, Andover and Boxford, near Boston, emigrated to the River St. John during that and the following season, in a couple of packet sloops, of about forty tons burden each, and commanded by Captains Newman and Howe. The former came first with the emigrants, and the latter became an annual trader to the River, his sloop being the only means of communication between the pilgrims and their native land.

There were small, detached French villages located, at that time, in the rich intervale; but the uncongeniality of their English neighbors, no doubt, was the cause of their migrating farther into the wilderness. The New England settlers commenced clearing the soil and preparing for the first crop; they were delighted with the rapid growth and favorable prospect, when an early frost put an end to their hopes for that year. Before relief arrived, the next season, they suffered much for want of food.

These emigrants had taken the precaution to obtain a grant of land from the Government at Halifax, securing five hundred acres to each man of a family. They were desirous of settling near together, and each sharing in the rich intervale on the river bank; they therefore laid out their lots ten chains in width, and extending back five hundred and fifty chains [nearly seven miles], making eight farms to a mile in breadth on the river.*

* Hatheway.

The resettlement of the country under English patronage continued very slow until the outbreak of the Revolution, when the population was augmented by the arrival of Tory refugees from the revolting colonies, styled in the Canadian Provinces "United Empire Loyalists;" who, to the number of twenty thousand, with their effects, sought here a home. Many of these were among the "first families" in the country from whence they had fled, and proved a valuable accession to the Province, by elevating the social standing of the community, and adding a valuable element to the industrial population.

Scarce twenty years ago, we saw a whole people of French descent violently expatriated from this soil by the joint efforts of native and colonial Britons, on the asserted ground of the inimical tendencies of their bigoted religion and Papist priesthood. Now we behold a violent rupture between the English colonies and their mother country, and between the colonists themselves; and some of the latter, in their turn expatriated, are forced to seek an asylum in the land from which they had helped to drive away the French.

The strange perversities of the human mind, and the marked effect that self-interest exerts over one's opinions and prejudices, were never more apparent than as exhibited in the march of the events of which we write. When an excuse was wanting to drive the French from their territory in America, the British Ministry, the Council at Halifax, and the Colonial Governments, each openly denounced that people as "equally cruel and perfidious as their savage allies." In 1774, both England and the colonies were anxious to secure the services of the French Catholics of Canada in the conflict then impending between them. The British Ministry restored to them their ancient civil procedure, together with the full ecclesiastical jurisdiction pertaining to the Papist priesthood: this was done with the

view of conciliating the priests, and by that means win over the common people to their interests. On the other hand, although a law was at that time on the statute-book of Rhode Island, making it a penal offence for a Roman Catholic to set foot on her soil, the colonies sent a message to their neighbors of Canada, in which they said; "We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us."*

Count d'Estaing, of the coöperating French fleet cruising on the American seaboard in 1778, vainly tried to influence his Canadian fellow-countrymen, by calling to remembrance the natural ties which bound them to the race they sprang from. The reproachful saying of Lafayette to the Canadian officers imprisoned at Boston for taking up arms in the royalist cause, is a matter of history: "What! you elect to fight, in order to maintain your subordination as colonists, instead of accepting and vindicating the independence which has been offered you! Remain then, ever the slaves ye now are!" The British Ministry proved themselves the better diplomatists, and, by granting privileges to the French Catholic element, greatly to the prejudice of the English Protestant population, who were of less importance to Great Britain in point of numbers, permanently secured to the Crown of England the powerful dominion of Canada.

*The following, from the "Laws and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay," is appropos to the subject. The paper bears date of December 12, 1695; after a preamble showing that the law was intended to abate a "grievous inconvenience," and as a measure of "public safety," it reads: "Be it enacted . . . That from and after the second day of January next ensuing, none of the French nation be permitted to reside or be in any of the seaport or frontier towns in this province, but such as shall be licensed by the Governor and Council; nor shall any of said nation keep shop, or exercise any manual trade in any of the towns of this Province, without the approbation of the Selectmen, on pain of imprisonment, and to remain in prison until released by order of Governor and Council."

Throughout the Canadian Provinces, as in the revolted colonies, sentiment was divided as regarded allegiance to Great Britain. The young colony of Massachusetts emigrants on the banks of the St. John endorsed the action of the Whigs, and set on foot a campaign and siege against their English neighbors of Fort Cumberland, who, it appears, had as heartily espoused the cause of George the Third. The historian Hatheway thus describes what he is pleased to term the "quixotic" campaign against Fort Cumberland:—

"Without artillery, without a commissioned officer at their head, or an ordinary knowledge of such an undertaking, they commenced their march, while the greater part of their company were as ignorant of the nature of such an undertaking as they were of the justice of it. They at length arrived in the neighborhood of the fort, and soon made known the nature of their visit by a bold demand of an immediate surrender; and having contrived to forward an exaggerated account of their numerical strength and resources, they caused the garrison to close their gates and prepare for the siege or assault, notwithstanding the effective troops of the fort were more than double the number of the besiegers. Unfortunately at this juncture a vessel had arrived off the fort, loaded with provisions for the troops. A sergeant with a few men had gone on board as a guard until time and tide should favor the unloading.— Our invading heroes now conceived the bold design (since there seemed little prospect of carrying the fort) of capturing this vessel. They accordingly, when the tide had run out of the harbor and left the vessel sitting on the mud flat, marched alongside of her in a dark night, ordered a ladder to be let down to help them on board, threatening to burn them in case of resistance. This order was obeyed and they took their prize without opposition. Had one shot been fired, the fort would have taken the alarm and recap-

tured her the next morning, instead of having the chagrin to see her sail away next day a prize to the foe, without a cruiser on the coast to pursue her. This vessel was taken to Máchias and sold by the captors, who it is presumed made a fair dividend of the prize money."

The same authority says: "At the conclusion of the peace of 1783, there was a great influx of emigrants to this Province, chiefly of the American Loyalists, disbanded soldiers and officers, nearly all of whom drew land from the government. Some remained and occupied their lands during the two years in which the government allowed them rations; others left and returned to the United States, and some continued permanent and useful settlers. This gave a new impulse to the infant colony, enhanced the value of property of all descriptions, made a ready and sure market for a surplus produce, and caused money to circulate and capitalists to undertake business. But a disbanded soldiery seldom makes the best settlers. Too much of the dissipated customs of the army, with the usual attendant intemperance, proved for a time a great drawback and hindrance to those benefits which might otherwise have resulted from the change."

The Province of New Brunswick had been erected, and was so named in honor of the Duke of Brunswick, one of the petty German princes, from whom England had engaged the sixteen thousand Hessian troops which she employed in the War of the Revolution. Three thousand persons from Nantucket arrived at the River St. John in the spring succeeding the declaration of peace. Many of these were men who served in the ranks of the Loyalists during the war; twelve hundred more from the same place followed during the autumn of the same year. The sufferings of these settlers are described as severe. They had previously enjoyed all the comforts which a country subdued and cultivated by the endurance and industry of their forefathers afforded, and they were forced to encounter all the hor-

rors of an approaching winter, without houses to shelter them, amid the wilds of New Brunswick. Their sufferings have been described in a pamphlet published by a resident of the Province. He says the difficulties to which the first settlers were exposed, for a long time continued almost insurmountable. On their arrival, they found a few hovels where St. John is now built, the adjacent country exhibiting a most desolate aspect, which was peculiarly discouraging to people who had just left their homes in the beautiful and cultivated parts of the United States. The country all about was a continued wilderness, uninhabited and untrodden, except by savages and wild beasts; and scarcely had they begun to construct their cabins, when they were surprised by the rigors of the untried climate, their habitations being enveloped in snow before they were tenable. The climate at that period, from some cause, was far more severe than at present, and they were frequently put to the greatest straits for food and clothing to preserve their existence. A few roots were all that tender mothers could at times procure to allay the importunate calls of their children for food. Sir Guy Carleton had ordered their provisions at the expense of the government, for the first year; but, as the country was little cultivated at that time, food could scarcely be procured on any terms. Frequently had these settlers to go from fifty to one hundred miles with hand-sleds or toboggans, through wild woods or on the ice, forced to sleep in the open air, and make their way on snow-shoes, to procure a supply for their famishing families. The privations and sufferings of these people almost exceeded belief. The want of food and clothing in a wild country was not easily supplied. Frequently in the piercing cold of winter, some of the family were obliged to remain up at night to keep fire in their huts to protect the others from freezing. Some of the more destitute families made use of boards to supply the want of bedding. Many of these Loyalists were in the

prime of life when they emigrated into the country, and most of them had young families. To establish these, they wore out their lives in toil and poverty, and by their unremitting exertions subdued the wilderness, and covered the face of the country with habitations, villages, and towns.

Among the early settlers of St. John after the close of the war, was the notorious Benedict Arnold and family. He seems to have been hated even in St. John; and many local instances of meanness are yet told of him while a resident there. Arnold engaged in trade and navigation, and owned the first vessel built in St. John. He obtained it of the builder, who was unable to procure the necessary sails and rigging, and who unfortunately came into Arnold's power, by fraud. He lived in a house built by himself at the corner of King and Canterbury Streets; his store was in another quarter, near the corner of Main and Charlotte Streets: he dealt in ship-furnishing goods.

When Benedict Arnold returned to England he was the father of seven children. His first wife bore him Benedict, Richard and Henry. The elder was an officer of artillery in British service, and died young while stationed in the West Indies. The children by his second marriage were James, Edward, George and Sophia. James was the only one born in the United States, and was a child at the time of Arnold's treason; he entered the British army and rose to the rank of Colonel of Engineers. He was stationed at Bermuda for awhile, then was transferred to Halifax, where he was in command of the engineers of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. During this period he visited St. John, and on going into the house built by his father in King Street, wept like a child. He married a Miss Goodrich of the Isle of Wight.

Benedict Arnold and sister Hannah were the only ones left of a family of six children at the time of the Revolution; she adhered to him through all his guilty career. She is

said to have possessed excellent qualities of character, and died at Montague, Province of Quebec, in 1803. Arnold died in London in 1801; and Margaret, his widow, died in the same city three years afterwards, at the age of forty-three.

Miss Margaret Shippen, afterward Mrs. Benedict Arnold, it will be recollected, was at the time of the British occupation of Philadelphia, 1877, one of the reigning belles of that city, and a great favorite with the British officers. The young and brilliant Major Andre, by his polished manners, and superior address, had attracted her admiration, with whom she soon came to be on intimate terms. After the English withdrew, it was then she became acquainted with Benedict Arnold, with whom she afterward contracted marriage. Van Shaack, a New York Loyalist, relates being at Westminster Abbey some years after the war. While there he saw Benedict Arnold, and a lady with him he supposed to be his wife. The two stood before the cenotaph of Andre, deliberately perusing the monumental inscription of the tale of his own infamy. What Arnold's thoughts were, when his act of treachery came up before him, or hers, at this reminder of the untimely end of her former lover, can be only surmised. Van Shaack relates that he turned from the scene in disgust.

The town of Shelburne, on an inlet on the south eastern coast of Nova Scotia, is noticeable to the student of American history, from its having been the residence of Beverly Robinson, with whom Arnold was quartered at the time he was negotiating the surrender of West Point, and whose former dwelling yet stands among the mountains of Putnam County, N. Y., within view of the ruined fortifications of Fort Putnam. After the surrender of Cornwallis, a hundred and twenty Loyalists from New York, heads of families, associated themselves for the purpose of emigrating to Nova Scotia. The number was subsequently increased to

four hundred and seventy-one heads of families, who were divided into sixteen companies with a captain and two lieutenants appointed for each. The several companies were each provided with one transport for its conveyance, two for the removal of its heavy baggage, and a schooner to carry horses. The associates were furnished with forty pieces of cannon and a proportionate quantity of ammunition and military stores, and were accompanied by a commissary, engineer and a number of carpenters, who were supplied with all kinds of tools and implements necessary for the formation of a settlement upon a large scale. Previous to their departure a Board was constituted, of which Beverly Robinson, Esq., was appointed President, whose duty it was to apportion a pecuniary donation of Government among the most meritorious of the settlers.

The associates and their families sailed from New York harbor on the 27th of April, 1783, in a fleet of eighteen square-rigged vessels, and several sloops and schooners, supported by two ships of war. Choosing a situation, a town was laid out, consisting of five parallel streets, sixty feet wide, intersected by others at right angles. Temporary huts were erected for the families, and the ground cleared away for the site of the town. The Roseway River swarmed with salmon and gaspereau, and the harbor was filled with cod, halibut, lobster and shell-fish. In July the erection of substantial houses was commenced. The following month Governor Parr visited the place and conferred upon it a name by drinking prosperity to the town of *Shelburne*. A complete inundation of fleeing Loyalists poured into the half-built town during the autumn, and the limits of the growing city had to be enlarged. Within a year the population of Shelburne reached twelve or fourteen thousand. But the town had no back country to supply and be enriched by; and the colonists, mostly of the wealthier class from the cities, would not engage in the fisheries. The

money they had brought from their old homes was at length exhausted, and then Shelburne declined with a rapidity as remarkable as its growth had been. Many of the people returned to the United States, and others removed to various parts of the Province: the population soon dwindled to four hundred souls. Within two years over \$2,500,000 were sunk in the founding of Shelburne. It was recently described as the site of a few large storehouses, with decayed timbers and crumbling window frames, standing near the wharves, with piles of stone and grass plats marking where the streets had been.

Notwithstanding the coldness of the climate of Nova Scotia, numbers of the colored race have emigrated to its shores, the descendants of whom still abide on its soil. Here they retain, with a few exceptions, the proverbial improvidence of their race. Nearly twelve hundred blacks were transported from this Province to Sierra Leone in 1792, by sanction of the British government. Shortly after their removal, six hundred Maroons, from the Island of Jamaica, were conveyed to Halifax, with the view of making them permanent residents. The history of this singular people is so full of interest, that a brief sketch of them cannot be out of place here.

In 1655, when Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards, fifteen hundred of their enslaved Africans took refuge in the mountains of the island. In these retreats they, for upward of forty years, mainly subsisted by frequent incursions into the settlements of the English in the lowlands. Their numbers continued to swell by natural increase, and by reinforcements of fugitive slaves; and they finally became so formidable, under an able leader named Cudjoe, that, in 1738, military force was resorted to for their subjugation. A pacification was fortunately entered into with them, and thus was terminated a contest which seemed to portend the ruin of the whole colony.

In 1795, the Maroons again appeared in arms, and swooped down from their mountain fastnesses, carrying destruction and alarm all over the island. They established their headquarters at a place called the "Cockpit," a deep valley surrounded by steep precipices and mountains of a prodigious height, in the caves of which they had placed their women and children, and deposited their ammunition. From this secure retreat, they sent out small parties of their ablest young men, who prowled about the country, gathering up provisions, and applying the midnight torch to unprotected dwellings, and murdering in cold blood, such of the white people as came into their hands, without regard to age or sex. The Earl of Belcarras and General Walpole proceeded against them with a body of troops, but so great were the difficulties encountered, that they nearly despaired of subjugating this people. The Cockpit could be reached only by a path down a steep rock, one hundred and fifty feet in almost perpendicular descent. This obstacle the Maroons surmounted without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with singular effect in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity, which, to the British troops, was wholly inimitable. The great lack of the Maroons in this impregnable retreat, was a full supply of water. For a time their thirst was assuaged by a substitute for natural springs furnished by a species of pine growing in the pit; this finally failed them, but it is not known what the issue might have been, had not an unusual and cruel measure been resorted to by way of enforcing subjugation.

The British Commissioners who went to Havanna for assistance, arrived at Montego Bay with forty *Chasseurs*, or Spanish hunters, (chiefly people of color,) and one hundred and twenty Spanish dogs. A great proportion of these animals were not regularly trained, so that the fugitives whom they overtook had no chance to escape being torn in pieces

by them. These Spanish Chasseurs had bound themselves "to go to the Island of Jamaica, taking each three dogs for the hunting and seizing of negroes; that when arrived, and informed of the situation of the runaway or rebellious negroes, we oblige ourselves to practice every means that may be necessary to pursue, and to apprehend with our dogs, said rebellious negroes." Thus the authorities may be said literally to have let loose "the dogs of war" against the proscribed Maroons.

This harsh measure had the effect of bringing about a truce: terrified and humbled, the insurgents sued for peace; six hundred of the Trelawney Maroons were put on board three transports at Bluefields, in Jamaica, and in six weeks were safely landed in Halifax. They had been provided with all manner of necessaries and accommodations at sea, and provision made for their subsistence after reaching land: the sum of £25,000 had been furnished by the Jamaica Legislature for the purpose.

On their arrival at Halifax Harbor, his Highness, Prince Edward, then in the country, was greatly anxious to see a people who had for months successfully resisted a greatly superior force of British troops. The Prince, on going on board the *Dover*, found a detachment of British Regulars drawn up on the quarter-deck, their arms rested and music playing. The Maroon men, in a uniform dress, were arranged in lines on each side the whole length of the ship, and the women and children forward, dressed clean and neat. Accustomed to view lines of men with a very discriminating eye, the just proportions of their limbs did not escape the notice of the Prince.

It being midsummer, temporary houses were erected, and others hired for them, and the Governor allotted the barns of his farm for the same purpose. They were employed on the fortifications of Halifax: the Maroon Bastion was erected and designated a monument of their active in

dustry. In a word, this dreadful banditti were considered a great acquisition to the country. It was not long before this people showed signs of discontent; those who were instrumental in their transportation began to have fears they might have made a mistake; in 1800 they were reëmbarked at Halifax, and sent to Sierra Leone. Thus ended the settlement of Maroons in Nova Scotia, after an expenditure of £46,000 on the part of the Island of Jamaica, and a very great outlay by Great Britain.

At the conclusion of the war of 1812, a large body of escaped slaves were permitted to take refuge on board the British squadron, blockading the Chesapeake and southern harbors, and were afterwards landed at Halifax. They had imbibed the theory that liberty consisted in total exemption from labor; and unaccustomed to provide for their own wants, they eked out an existence by cultivating small gardens through the summer, and subsisting on rations allowed them by government during the winter. In the neighborhood of Halifax are settlements composed wholly of blacks, who experience during the rigorous season all the misery incident to improvidence. The following is a pen picture:

"In a few minutes we saw a big house perched on a bone of granite, and presently another cabin came in view. Then other scare-crow edifices wheeled in sight as we drove along; all forlorn, all patched with mud, all perched on barren knolls, high up, like ragged redoubts of poverty, armed at every window with a formidable artillery of old hats, rolls of rags, quilts, carpets, and indescribable bundles, or barricaded with boards to keep out the sunshine. The people living here are descendants of escaped slaves from the United States. They are a miserable lot; they won't work, and they shiver it out here as well as they can. But in the strawberry season they make a little money."

In 1821, ninety of these people were conveyed by permission of government, in chartered vessels, to Trinidad.

The traveler of the present day, seated in one of the comfortable coaches of the Inter-colonial Railway en route for Halifax, on leaving Valley Station in the city of St. John, and passing rapidly out through Marsh Valley, will soon see the broad waters of Kennebecasis Bay opening on the left. The ever-changing and picturesque scenery of New Brunswick engages the attention of the tourist, and he speedily finds himself amid the pleasant rural scenes of the famous farm-lands of Sussex Vale. This tract was settled by the military corps of New Jersey Loyalists, [mostly Germans,] of Revolutionary fame; their descendants now occupy the dwellings and till the lands donated to their fathers by the King of Great Britain. "Good roads, excellent crops, comfortable houses, commodious churches, well-taught schools, an intelligent and industrious people, all in the midst of scenery beautifully varied with hill and valley, mountain and meadow, forest and flood," are among the characteristics ascribed to Sussex Vale.

A ride of two hours more brings the traveler into the valley of the Petitcodiac River: the quaint houses and barns betoken the inhabitants to be of German origin; history asserts their ancestors were German Loyalists from Pennsylvania. The pretty village of Moncton is at the head of navigation on the Petitcodiac, and its name perpetuates the memory of one of the early conquerors of the country. The visitor must not omit to stop here, to see the great "bore," or tide-wave, of the Bay of Fundy. At the beginning of flood-tide a wall of water, from four to six feet high, sweeps up the river, and in the space of six hours the stream rises over seventy feet.

The Halifax train runs out to the northeast from Moncton, but after a stretch of a few miles, deflects to the southeast into the Memramcook Valley. Here the tourist finds himself in the midst of rural farm scenes, peopled with a peasantry having the unmistakable impress of a French

Catholic origin; he is told these are the descendants of the Acadian Neutrals, bearing the family names of LeBlanc, Melançon, and others equally historic.—A walk of a few minutes in the leading streets of Boston or New York will reveal palaces of olive-colored sandstone, quarried from among the fir-clad mountains bordering the Memramcook River.

At Sackville the train crosses the Tantramar River—a name corrupted from a French word signifying “a thundering noise,” and suggested by the noise and fury of the rushing tide; thence the course is laid out on the wide Tantramar Marsh, the dread of winter travelers and the bane of railway managers, whose trains are often blockaded on these plains during the snow-storms of winter. To the north-east is Cape Tormentine, “the great headland which forms the eastern extremity of New Brunswick within the Gulf,” a name likewise suggested by the fury of the relentless sea. It is from a point on this Cape that the winter mail-service is conducted between New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island; where the mails, passengers and baggage are subjected to an exciting and perilous transit in ice-boats across the Northumberland Strait.

These pretty hamlets, nestled in the picturesque valleys, now the abode of a contented and well-to-do people, surrounded with quiet, pastoral scenes, are in strong contrast with the deeds enacted there little more than a century ago, when the French Neutrals were hunted like wild beasts among these mountains, when the midnight sky was illumined by the flames of their burning dwellings, and neither age, sex, nor infirmity served to move the heart of the conqueror in compassion.

The tract of country comprised in the townships of Truro, Onslow, Londonderry, and Economy, is unsurpassed by any in the Province for richness of soil. The bay, washing its shores for upwards of sixty miles, is easily navigated.—

On the opposite side of the Basin is the indenture made by the Shubenacadie, with its fifty-feet flood-tide, its current of eight miles an hour and its banks containing inexhaustible treasures of gypsum, limestone, and freestone.

The first settlers of Truro, under British domination, were from New Hampshire, from a stock originally hailing from Ireland. They comprised part of a volunteer force sent out by that colony; having seen the country, they were so well pleased that they returned with their families and settled as soon as they were disbanded. At first they lived under great terror of the Indians, and a stockaded fort was their resort at night for a long time. When they first came, they found two barns to be the only French buildings remaining: this circumstance was the occasion of a part of the township being called "Old Barns," or "Barn Village." Remnants of French orchards are still to be found in the neighborhood.

This part of the Province attracted the early French settlers in large numbers. Some idea of the former population of Londonderry may be formed by the size of the Catholic chapel, which was one hundred feet long and forty feet wide. This spacious building, together with the dwelling houses, was destroyed by the Provincial troops on the dispersion of the Acadians in 1755.

The rich dike land bordering the River Miseguash, and the border line between the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is occupied by the descendants of the Acadians, New England emigrants, and the posterity of a few families from the north of Ireland. Here stood the two rival forts of Beausejour and Lawrence, separated by the little stream. Many traditional anecdotes of the siege of the former fort have been handed down to the present generation. It is said that while preparations were making for the attack, parties of the French and English would meet at the river and indulge in some good-natured banter as to the



SAMBRO LIGHT.

probable result of the conflict, each being alike confident of success; they made exchange of bullets, and exacted promises of their faithful return from the mouths of their muskets. The descendants of those engaged in that memorable siege now dwell side by side in perfect amity, under the protection of the same government.

Not far away is the town of Minudie, settled by Acadians, the greater part of whom escaped the hands of Capt. Murray at Windsor at the ruthless French extirpation, and found means to remove thither. Here they found the wives and children of many of their fellow countrymen, deprived of their natural protectors by the ruthless decree of a rival military power, and destitute of food, clothing and shelter. This little community preserve a remarkable attachment to their language, customs and religion; the dike land around which they are settled contains three thousand rich alluvial acres, the houses being scattered along its outer margin for fifteen miles. Great quantities of shad are taken here, in weirs erected upon the flats, which are exposed at low water, not only supplying the wants of the inhabitants, but furnishing an article of export. At a place called the South Joggin, in this neighborhood, are situated extensive and valuable quarries of grindstone.* From the bleak and north-west exposure of these settlements, they are at the mercy of the winters' storms.

On the summit of the Cobequid Mountains, between the Cumberland and Minas Basins, surrounded by an extensive tract of woodland, on the post-road between Halifax and

*To avoid removing the superincumbent earth, the stones are dug as nearly as possible at low water-mark, where the tides have left them exposed to view. But as the combined action of the sea and frost naturally affects the upper strata, the best kind has to be sought for below the surface. In cutting the stones the workmen frequently meet rounded nodules called "bull's eyes," a defect which renders them unfit for use.

Canada, is the settlement of Westchester, peopled by a colony of Loyalists from Westchester, New York. It is said they were attracted thither by the similarity of the country to that from which they emigrated. This selection was injudicious: from the exposed situation of the top of the Cobequid Mountains, they are enveloped in immense falls of snow in winter, and inconvenienced by heavy falls of rain in summer.

A grant of six thousand acres on the southern coast of the Gut of Canso, was made about the year 1786 to a company of fifty Loyalists, who had joined the British troops at St. Augustine, and embarked with them for this Province. They were landed at the Gut late in the autumn, and suffered terribly from the unexpected severity of the winter. The difference between raising indigo and tobacco on the natural savannahs of Florida, and raising potatoes on soil from which they had first to remove the Nova Scotian forest, was so great as to discourage them; the adjoining fisheries promising a less laborious means of support, they were induced to embark to a great extent in maritime pursuits.

Windsor, on the river Avon,* is a place of interest from the fact that it is the principal port from which gypsum is shipped, a fertilizer held in high esteem by the farmers of

*The tourist who passes from Grand Pre to Windsor during the hours of low tide, will sympathize with the traveler who says, "the Avon would have been a charming river if there had been a drop of water in it. I never knew before how much water adds to a river. I think it would be confusing to dwell by a river that runs first one way and then the other, and then vanishes altogether." Another description runs thus: "The tide was out, leaving the red river-bottom entirely bare. After an absence of an hour or more, I loitered back, when to my surprise there was a river like the Hudson at Catskill, running up with a powerful current. The high wharf, upon which but a short time before I had stood and surveyed the unsightly fields of mud, was now up to its middle in the deep and whirling stream."

the United States. This fossil crops out above the soil in many places in Windsor; on the northern side of the St. Croix it rises into a high, mural precipice for several miles. It is accompanied and sometimes intermingled with limestone, for which it has a strong affinity, the one being a carbonate and the other a sulphate of lime. The ground in which it occurs is often much broken, abounding in circular cavities known in local parlance as "kettle holes," in which there have sometimes been found the bones of animals and the skeletons of Indians who had fallen into these caverns and could not extricate themselves. Gypsum is seldom found in an unbroken strata; large veins of loam are scattered through the rocks, also red and blue clay with layers of lime. It is quarried by the aid of gunpowder, and broken into suitable sizes for exportation by the pick-axe.

The township of Cornwallis was settled by emigrants from Connecticut, who arrived in June, 1760, and took possession of the lands formerly owned by the French Neutrals. They met with a few straggling families of these people, who had escaped from the soldiers at the time of the forced removal of their countrymen, and who, afraid of sharing the same fate, had not ventured to till the land, or to appear in the open country. The cleared lands everywhere skirted the meadows, and on all of them were found the ruins of the houses that had been burned by the Provincials under Col. Winslow five years before. There were likewise small gardens encircled by cherry trees and currant bushes, and small orchards or rather clumps of apple trees. Groups of willows, "those never-failing appendages of an Acadian settlement," bore silent testimony of an exiled race.

As the Indians were both numerous and unfriendly, and some fears prevailed that the few remaining French would molest the new occupants of the confiscated farms, stockaded houses were erected for the general defense.

The township of Lunenburg was peopled by emigrants

from Germany, and is the oldest settlement, next to Halifax, formed under English patronage. In 1750, the Lords of Trade of Great Britain caused a proclamation to be posted up in the several populous towns of Germany, offering inducements to settle in Nova Scotia. That year one hundred and fifty Germans and Swiss were induced to sell their effects and embark for Halifax. The rocky coast, the interminable forest, and the sterility of the soil, impressed the adventurers unfavorably. By the year 1753, the number had been increased to upwards of sixteen hundred persons, when a new settlement was determined on, in a valley between two round, green hills, at the head of a beautiful bay, to which they gave the name of Lunenburg. As the Indians were very numerous, and exceedingly hostile, murdering every man who ventured alone into the woods, nine block-houses were built, and the settlement enclosed with a fence of palisades, or timbers sharpened at the points, and firmly set in the ground.

While the hardships and dangers incident to their situation had discouraged the settlers and soured their tempers, a report was industriously circulated among them that they had been defrauded of a large part of the provisions and stores destined for their use, through the dishonesty of some of the officials. As they had all been supplied with fire-arms, they resolved to redress their own grievances; the civil authority was quickly overpowered, and nearly the whole of the settlers were in a state of open rebellion. A strong military force was sent from Halifax to quell the insubordination. Two of the ring-leaders having been shot, the insurgents submitted; four hundred and fifty fire-locks were surrendered and deposited in the King's stores, and the people returned to their respective employments. In 1754 supplies of cattle were received from the agents of the government, and the following year this stock was augmented by some of the confiscated property of the Acadians.

After the expulsion of the latter from the territory, a party of men marched through the woods from Lunenburg to the Basin of Minas, and collected and drove off upwards of one hundred and twenty head of horned cattle, and a number of horses. After infinite labor they only succeeded in conducting to Lunenburg sixty oxen and cows, as the rest of the cattle and all the horses died during the journey of fatigue and hunger. The inhabitants had been supplied with provisions at the public expense until June 1754, when the allowance was withheld, except from the aged and infirm. In consequence of the depredations of the savages, Governor Lawrence offered a reward, by proclamation, of £30 for every male Indian prisoner and £25 for his scalp, with a proportionate reward for each woman and child, or scalp. The premiums were wholly unattainable by these foreigners, who were ignorant of the surrounding woods, and who, if they chanced to discover Indian traces, too often found, to their cost, that these tracks were made to lead them into ambush. This state of warfare continued till the peace of 1760, over a term of seven years, during which there was an increase in the population of only seven souls. From that time until the commencement of the Revolution, Lunenburg steadily advanced in wealth and population; but during that war it met with repeated reverses, in the capture of its vessels and the plunder of the settlement. In July, 1782, six sail of American privateers arrived at Lunenburg, under command of Capt. Stoddard, and ninety men were landed and the place surprised. Having taken a blockhouse defended by Colonel Creighton with a loss of three men killed, the assailants plundered the town, burned several houses, and carried away or destroyed property to the value of £12,000. Upon threatening to burn the town, the inhabitants executed a bond for its ransom in the sum of £1,000. During the continuance of the war they were in constant dread of a similar visit.

With the war of 1812, American privateers were again on the coast. The former wooden fortifications of Lunenburg having been suffered to decay, four new block-houses were erected. In June, 1813, two men-of-war were seen chasing an armed schooner into Mahone Bay. The alarm guns in the block-houses and outposts were immediately fired, and the militia of the country hastily assembled at the summons. The movements of the vessels were carefully observed until sundown, when they came to anchor. Boats were then hoisted out of the ships and manned, and sent in pursuit of the schooner, but before they reached her a dreadful explosion took place, and an immense cloud of smoke was seen issuing from her ruins. Darkness now came on, and the people of Lunenburg lay upon their arms all night, not knowing whether a friendly or a hostile force was in the harbor. The next day a boat arrived with six American prisoners, all dreadfully mutilated, most of whom were obliged to undergo some immediate amputation. The two ships of war were under English colors, and had chased the American privateer, *Teaser*, into the Bay. One of the officers of the privateer, who was an English deserter, knowing the fate that awaited him if captured, and failing to inspire the crew with his own feeling of desperate resistance, deliberately set fire to the magazine, killing ninety-four of the one hundred men on board of her, including himself.

Students of American history will recollect the celebrated cavalry of Tarleton, the hero of Waxhaw, North Carolina, in the Revolution. This arm of the British service, known throughout the South as Tarleton's Legion, at the close of the war were pensioned for their services with a grant of land in Nova Scotia by King George III. They selected a site at the head of Mouton Harbor, on the southern coast of the Province at its western extremity, and began the foundation of a town which they called Guysboro, after the Christian name of the Governor of Canada, Sir Guy Carle-

ton. They soon perceived they had selected injudiciously, the soil being stony and barren, with little in favor of the location except a good harbor. They had erected a few houses, still they determined on abandoning the place; while making preparations for removing their effects, a fire broke out, consuming the town to ashes; the measure of their calamities was filled up by the total loss of their livestock, furniture and wearing apparel. A more complete destruction than that which overtook the veterans of Waxhaw cannot well be imagined; and had not a King's ship been dispatched from Halifax with provisions for their relief, they must inevitably have perished from famine. Most of these sufferers by the conflagration removed to the eastern part of the Province, where they founded another settlement, naming that likewise, Guysboro.

The township of Yarmouth, at the western extremity of Nova Scotia, contains no less than eighty lakes: to a bird flying overhead it must seem like a patch-work of blue and green, in which the blue predominates. They are nearly all connected with the Tusket River, and are generally small, irregular in shape, and surrounded with stunted timber. In the picturesque Argyle Bay adjoining are the beautiful groups of Tusket Isles; "Like most other collections of islands on this continent, they are popularly supposed to be 365 in number, though they do not claim to possess an intercalary islet like that on Lake George [New York], which appears only every fourth year." The Tusketts vary in size from Morris Island, three miles in length, to the smallest tuft-crowned rock, resembling a little basket of evergreens, floating on the water. The scenery of Argyle Bay is extremely beautiful of its kind:—cottages embowered in the forests of fir and spruce, and the masts of small fishing vessels peeping up from every little cove, with innumerable islands and peninsulas enclosing the blue sea in every direction; while beyond, amid the scenery of the Tusket

Lakes, are the Blue Mountains, the paradise of the moose and trout.

Among these narrow passes, hundreds of Acadians took refuge during the persecutions of 1755-60, and several settlements were formed by them here. The remains of a flourishing one existed up to a recent period at the head of the Chegoggin Marsh, and the apple trees, stone walls, and cellars on Chebogue River are said to be relics of the same people. But even the solitude and seclusion of this spot did not save them from the pursuit of their enemies. A British frigate was sent down to hunt them out. A small boat was dispatched at the mouth of the Tusket River, and, guided by native pilots, ascended the stream and its chain of lakes, to invest this asylum. The invaders had advanced to within a mile of the village, and were arrived at a narrow place where the river is contracted to twenty or thirty yards in width. Here the pass is overarched by the branches of the sombre pine, enveloping the stream in shade; under the umbrageous foliage, an ambuscade had been formed by the fugitives, and the unsuspecting crew, surprised under the very muzzle of their assailants' guns, received a fatal discharge of musketry which destroyed the entire party. This sanguinary triumph only served to render the fate of the Acadians more certain, and they were at last compelled to fly. Some escaped to the woods and affiliated with the Indians, never afterward returning to the haunts or habits of the white man; but the greater part were captured, and transported with their families to New England. After many years they were permitted to return, and the Acadians of Clare, Eel Brook, and Pubnico are chiefly the descendants of these people.

In 1761, a few families from Massachusetts were attracted to Nova Scotia by the rich alluvial of Chebogue Marsh, and the valuable fisheries adjacent. The greater part of them settled at the head of the marsh, on the site of a

French village, and in most instances they erected their houses on the cellars which had been dug by their predecessors. Having carried them to a state of completion affording a tolerable shelter, the new settlers essayed the serious task of passing their first winter in the dreary and lonely spot of which they had taken possession. They had brought with them two horses, six oxen, and a number of cows and calves; the horses they immediately sent back as useless incumbrances. Over half the cattle died of hunger and exposure, and the rest were killed for food. The winter was terrible in its severity; snow lay on the ground four months to a depth of four feet. An accident having befallen the vessel on which they were totally dependant for supplies, they were reduced to the most pitiable condition for want of provisions. For a long time they were without bread, potatoes, or any substitute; a few actually perished from want of suitable nutriment. Six families, terrified and disheartened, returned home by the first opportunity; the remainder, being joined by other emigrants from the fishing towns of New England, effected a permanent settlement.

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THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON.

The Island of Cape Breton, formerly denominated by its French masters, L'Isle Royal, has been termed the key to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from the fact that it commands all access from the Atlantic, except by the circuitous route of the straits of Bellisle, round the northern extremity of Newfoundland. Nearly one third of the superficial area of the island is covered with water, being divided into two natural though continuous divisions by the Great and Little Bras d'Or Channels, and the inland sea known as Bras d'Or Lake. The land is well adapted to cultivation, and the timber is of good size except near the margin of the cliffs,

where is usually a growth of spruce and other evergreens, all inclining landwards from the fury of the Atlantic storms. The beauty of the bays, the densely wooded shores, the rich veins of coal, limestone, and gypsum cropping out along the coast of these inland waters, gives them a just title to the "Arm of Gold." It is said that in some localities gypsum may be quarried from the cliffs, broken up and thrown directly on the vessel moored at the base; and in others, as North Sydney, coal is delivered from the mines by letting it fall directly from the rail cars into the vessel's hold.

Communication between the different towns is easily carried on by sailing vessels, no part of the island being more than ten miles from navigation, yet containing about the same area as New Hampshire.

The Gut of Canso,* the thoroughfare of all the trade to and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, separating the Island of Cape Breton from the peninsula of Nova Scotia, is about fifteen miles long, and one mile wide. The scenery of this strait is spoken of by travelers as surpassing anything else of the kind in America, and it has been poetically styled the "Golden Gate of the St. Lawrence Gulf." There is a very strong current here. The tide seldom runs at a less rate than from four to five miles an hour, but no tabulated calendar of the Canso tides can be made on account of the great influence of winds upon them. It is not unusual for the stream of the strait to run one way for several days in succession. A southerly gale, by accelerating the ebb of the St. Lawrence, causes the water to flow through towards the Gulf; while a northwest wind will force a current into the Atlantic until the level of the water is restored.

Cape Breton was settled by Scotch and Irish emigrants, French Acadians, and a number of Loyalists from the Unit-

*From the Spanish word Ganso, signifying a goose, a name given to it on account of the immense numbers of geese formerly found there.

ed States. Over twenty-five thousand Scotch emigrants have settled on this island, and it will probably ever be a Scottish land. After the dispersion of the Highland clans and the final pacification of Northern Scotland, the chieftains and nobles found it more profitable to devote their estates to cattle-raising, than to maintain the old tenantry system. So thousands of poor tenant farmers were expelled from their ancient homes to make room for deer-parks and sheep-farms among the glens. Driven from their holdings, the poor Highlanders took refuge in the New World, thousands of miles from their early associations and the churchyard where lay the bones of their fathers; on a foreign shore, amid strange scenes they built new homes, and have become a well-to-do people. The selfish policy of the powerful nobles depopulated whole districts of the Highlands.

The northern part of the island is mountainous, and the shores bleak and inhospitable. The northeast storms of November and December hurry many a vessel on to this rocky coast, where, if the crew effect a landing, they wander in ignorance of the course to be taken until their limbs are frozen, and the only records left of their distress are their bones whitening on the shore. Sometimes they reach the settlements to the southward, only with the loss of their hands or feet from frost bite.

The shore from Cape St. Lawrence to Cape North, the two northern extremities of the island, presents perpendicular cliffs which descend into the sea without a beach border, against which the sea dashes with terrific violence.—Some of the mountains exceed twelve hundred feet in height, on which the ice and snow of winter form glaciers, whose debris is often seen in the valleys. Ten miles to seaward from Cape North lies the fatal St. Paul, a barren and rocky isle, whose grim, precipitous shores have been the unmarked grave of thousands. Washing among its rocks are to be seen the bones of its victims, and numbers of massive an-

chors lie around, under the water, the only remaining vestiges of ships there dashed to pieces. Thus placed in the great entrance of the Gulf, where perplexing fogs and variable currents conspire to hurry the unsuspecting mariner against the rocks, "the fatal shock at once precipitates ship, crew, and cargo, to the depths below." The Acadians of Cheticamp used to visit St. Paul Island every spring, to secure the valuable part of cargoes which the sea threw up on its shores.

To the south and east of Cape North, that "watchtower of the Gulf, beneath the brow of which all must pass that approach or depart from the great St. Lawrence," is Aspy Bay. The settlers here are gathered around the lagunes, or as they call them, *barrasois*. These people are farmer-fishermen. Their farms extend along the rivers and surround the head of the bay. Here the northeast storms of the Atlantic have swept up a fine sand, forming a beautiful beach. Coins, to a large amount, are thrown up from the ocean,—the cargo of some vessel with specie foundered there.

The rivers flowing into the Bras d'Or are, in general, streams of one hundred feet in width, and peculiarly erratic in their course. They are usually obstructed at their mouths by low marshy islands, overhung with the dark foliage of the hemlock and spruce. The water is wont to be sluggish, the surface disfigured by huge roots and branches of fallen trees, brought down by the spring freshets, and there water-logged and sunk, to the no small peril, in a dark night, of the frail birch-bark canoes of the Indians. Remains of gigantic animals are found in the vicinity of the Bras d'Or. Thigh bones six feet in length have been discovered in the bottom of the lake. In the bed of a tributary river an extraordinary skull was discovered. Of whatever nature these colossal creatures may have been that anciently tenanted the wilds or the waters of Cape Breton, their race is now utterly extinct.

Winter lasts from the beginning of November to the end of April. The ice in the harbor of Sydney seldom breaks up until the middle of the latter month, and for two months following the coast is subject to the visitations of drift ice from the Gulf of St. Lawrence,—a great impediment both to navigation and vegetation. Few winters pass without a depression of the mercury to twenty degrees below zero, and sometimes to thirty. The country is also subject to great and sudden changes of temperature—thaws of a week's duration often occurring in mid-winter. It is this that proves so destructive to plants not indigenous to the climate, rather than the severity of the cold. During a bright forenoon in spring, the mercury rises to summer heat, and has been noticed at ninety-six; the land thus heated, having communicated its temperature to the atmosphere causes it to ascend, producing a current from seaward, which drives the masses of loose ice into the harbors: the presence of the ice brings the adjacent shores rapidly down to the freezing point.

A terrible gale swept the Gulf of St. Lawrence in August, 1873, wrecking hundreds of vessels. The storm attained its greatest force around the Island of Cape Breton; it lasted only a few hours, but was fearfully destructive in its effects, and strewed all the neighboring coasts with drowned mariners. Over sixty sail from the New England harbor of Gloucester alone, were included among the lost. The storm has since been known as *The Lord's Day Gale*, from the day on which it commenced. The morning dawned bright and clear, and

“Was never a Gloucester skipper there
But thought erelong, with a right good fare,
To sail for home from St. Lawrence Bay.”

Towards noon the breeze freshened, and at nightfall, the storm was beating upon the Gulf in all its fury. But

"The bedtime bells in Gloucester town
That Sabbath night rang soft and clear ;
The sailors' children laid them down, —
Dear Lord ! their sweet prayers couldst thou hear ?
'Tis said that gently blew the winds ;
The good-wives, through the seaward blinds,
Looked down the bay and had no fear."

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Island of Newfoundland, called *Helluland* by the early Norse navigators, is of triangular configuration, with bold and rocky shores springing directly out of the Atlantic. It is located on the ocean highway from England to New York ; its area is considerable more than that of Ireland, while its coast line is double that of the Atlantic States. It is separated from the bleak and barren coasts of Labrador by the narrow Strait of Bellisle, and is washed by the waters of the Laurentian Gulf on the west. It is the home of the cod and seal fishers, whose rude huts and fish-flakes line the shores of its deeply indented bays. These flakes are frames constructed of poles, on which are spread codfish, dressed and salted, to be dried in the sun. Many parts of the narrow line of coast are literally roofed over with these stages during the season, imparting a peculiar odor to the atmosphere. In March or April, almost all the men go out in fleets to meet the ice that floats down from the northern regions, to kill the seals that come down on it. Later their boats dot the seas in the pursuit of cod ; while the women remain at home to plant and tend the little gardens, and dry the fish.

In the vicinity of St. John and other considerable towns, the superb villas of merchants and business men now and then peep out from among the dark fir woods. The bracing atmosphere, the clear blue skies, the matchless sea-views, studded with islets and gay with white-winged vessels, together with the pretty pastoral scenery of the coun-

try back of the settlements,—such would be a paradise but for the long Newfoundland winter.

The island has been termed a land of fog,—but this feature is more characteristic of the fishing banks, from which it is separated by a strip of deep water fifty miles in width.—Throughout the spring, summer, and fall, the fog rarely lifts from these banks, and a slow rain almost incessantly falls. Not unfrequently these fogs are so dense that objects within sixty feet are totally invisible, at which times the fishing vessels at anchor are apt to be run down by the great Atlantic steamers. The proximity of icebergs which often ground on the banks, is indicated by the intense cold they send through even a midsummer day, and by the white glare in the air, and the roar of breakers on their sides. Fogs are comparatively rare ashore: the mists which envelop the banks, to the great peril of navigators, roll up, day by day, a huge white sea-wall, to within a mile or two of the coast, while within the harbor all is sunshine.—Silvery ribands mark the courses of rivers that take their rise in lakes among mountains far in the interior, where the foot of civilized man has never trod; and, stretching through miles of stunted forest of fir and spruce—the home of the bear and cariboo—and dashing down precipices, at last find their way to the Atlantic. Owing to the influence of the Gulf Stream, frost does not come till late in October, and in early fall it is an exceedingly pleasant land for the hunter. In 1822, an adventurous Scotchman crossed the interior, and his description of the natural parks, over which roamed herds of reindeer, should have attracted sportsmen. Fish are abundant, and trout will take a fly from a line held over them from the hand.

Bayard Taylor says of the Bay of Bulls: “The village is built around the head of the harbor; the hills behind it have been cleared and turned into fields of grass and barley. The place with its wooden church, its fish-flakes along

the water, its two or three large storehouses, its yellow fields of late hay, and the dark dwarfish woods behind, reminded me of a view on one of the Norwegian fjords."

Icebergs are seen off the east shore at almost all seasons, and dense fogs are often illumined by the white glare which precedes them. Field-ice is also common during the summer, but is easily avoided by the warning of the "ice-blink."

The natives met with on the discovery of Newfoundland were Esquimaux,—men of stalwart frame and fierce disposition. Their complexion was a dark red, and they were renowned for their courage in battle. From the first, they were the implacable enemies of the whites. The Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia and these red Indians had carried on a war of extermination long before the advent of Europeans; each landing on the other's coast, scalping the men, and carrying the women into slavery. The rifle and bayonet of the white man finally overcame the valor of these fierce natives; abandoning the coasts they fled into the almost impregnable forests of the interior. Sometimes, in the long winter nights, they crept out from their fastnesses, and visited some lone hamlet with a terrible vengeance. The settlers, in turn, hunted them like wolves, and they were so reduced in numbers that they seldom ventured to appear; it was known that a few lingered, but were almost forgotten.

The winter of 1830 was unusually severe and prolonged. Towards spring a settler was cutting timber at some distance from one of the remote villages, when two gaunt figures crept out of the bush, and with sad cries and painful gestures implored help. The settler, terrified at their haggard looks and uncouth appearance, seized his gun and shot the foremost; the other tossed his lean arms wildly into the air, and the woods rang with his despairing shriek as he rushed away. Since that time none of the race have been seen on the island; and it is believed the last of them perished from the severity of the winter.

THE FISHERIES.

Stretched along the Atlantic side of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Newfoundland, are numerous tracts of shallow sea, or submarine fields, where the depth of the water varies from sixteen to sixty fathoms. The bottoms are chiefly sand, shingle and shells, and are believed to be the summits of submerged mountains. These so-called "banks" are swept by that powerful Atlantic current called the Gulf Stream, and owe their changes and perhaps their formation, to its action. The Gulf Stream is a mid-ocean river pouring out of the Gulf of Mexico, at a temperature several degrees higher than that of the ocean at the equator, and falling only to eighty degrees when in the vicinity of the Grand Banks. This stream is of an indigo blue, with boundaries sharply defined against the light green of the seas through which it passes,* and is the home of multitudes of fish; while the many indentures of the adjacent shores, communicating with hundreds of fresh-water streams, by furnishing favorable ground for spawning and abundance of rich exuviae on which to feed, render the locality still more favorable as the resort of the finny tribes.

Early in April the herring rush in from the Atlantic

*This change is so sudden that when a ship is crossing the line, two thermometers dropped the same instant from her bow and stern, will show a difference of thirty degrees.

towards the shores in dense shoals. Cod, haddock and pollock follow them, and feed upon the flanks of the advance armies: these in turn are pursued by sharks and other fish of prey, and it is not until the harmless tribes enter the rivers and estuaries that they obtain respite from their voracious enemies. Here they are assailed by every device that man can invent for their capture, before their rear is fairly safe from attack by the hungry tribes of the deep; and had not God created them with wonderful powers of reproduction, nothing short of annihilation could result. Fattened by the exuvæ of the creeks and bays, they supply not only the wants of the farmer-fishermen along the coasts, but furnish the great fish marts of the world; and they are nowhere else found so varied in kind and so abundant in quantity. Even during the coldest days of winter the shoreman can live upon this cheap luxury taken from the water within sight of his cabin window. Not unfrequently the fish are taken in such numbers that the farmer drives his team to the shore and loads his wagon from the "haul," while quantities of the dead and dying fish are left to be washed away by the next tide.*

The revenue from this source was one of the chief causes of the early broils between the French and English in Acadia. After the treaty of Paris, when France renounced her claim to the western empire, England and her colonies mainly shared the fisheries between them. Among the vexed

* The seal fishery is still prosecuted with profit in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and on the coast of Newfoundland. When the Europeans first began to frequent Canso as a fishing station, walrus were quite abundant, and their teeth, which equal the ivory of the elephant, formed a valuable article of trade. When the ice-fields became closed, these animals would sometimes land and sport on the snow. They were attacked by bands of fishermen with spears, and such havoc was made among them that they finally disappeared. At North Cape their bones are still found in the forest.

questions out of which grew the War of the Revolution, this subject was a fruitful source of disagreement; and one of the first measures of the mother country to bring the colonists into obedience, was to deprive them of their right in Acadian fisheries.

During that war, the colonies neglected this branch of industry, the New England mariners having engaged in the less sure but more alluring business of privateering. The treaty of peace of 1783, provided "that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and all other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time to fish; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such parts of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America." Previous to this the New England colonial governments had granted bounties and certain immunities to the property and persons engaged in the fisheries, to which fact may be ascribed much of the interest of their hardy seamen in this lucrative branch of industry.

This question continued to be the subject of various disputes and arrangements between the United States and Great Britain. The latter claimed at the Treaty of Ghent, that the war of 1812 annulled the original treaty of 1783, and the question was left open until 1818, when a convention granted the United States the right to fish in the deep sea, and to dry and cure on the British coasts; that power renouncing all claim to fish within three miles of shore, but retaining the privilege of entering any harbor to get wood, obtain shelter, and repair damages. This agreement did not end the dispute. The British Crown claimed that by the convention of 1818, "American citizens were excluded

from fishing within three miles of the coast of British America, and that the prescribed distance is to be measured from the headlands or extreme points of land next the sea of the coast, or of the entrance of the bays, and not from the interior of such bays or indents of the coast." This interpretation by the legal authorities of the Crown would close the Bay of Chaleurs, the Bay of Fundy and the St. Lawrence Gulf to American fishermen—to which the United States authorities were not inclined to submit.

An English writer claims, that that part of the treaty which permitted the Americans to enter the harbors in distress, or for fuel and water, was made a complete loophole for evasion. "While one part of the crew," says he, "are filling a water cask, the remainder are collecting bait, fishing, or clearing decks of the offal so pernicious to the fisheries. I was informed of a vessel that carried two bowsprits, one for sea service, and another which had been sprung, for in-shore work. With the latter, the skipper could enter any of the harbors by night or by day." We transcribe other assertions from the same authority,* giving the British view of this vexed question, taking the privilege of condensing where it can be done without injury to the sense.

"Early in the spring fleets are sent out from the New England States, destined for the coasts of the British Provinces. They are well supplied with provisions, salt, empty casks, seines, nets, twines, hooks, jigs, bait-mills, and every article required. Of this craft there are two kinds, the real fisherman and the 'speculator in fish.' The latter carry pork, flour, molasses, tobacco, gin, and almost every article required by the provincial fisherman. These vessels are soon 'out of water,' or 'spring a mast,' and then they are steered into the nearest harbor, where a barter traffic is immediately commenced. Fish are taken in payment of

* Gesner.

American goods, which, being duty free, are given to the fisherman at a much lower price than those obtained from the home merchant; and the vessel departs in time to keep clear of the revenue officer, leaving the butts and flakes of the shoremen fishless."

"A very clever old sea Captain told me that he 'once ran into St. Mary's. Tidings of my doings had got out, and on the night of my arrival, a revenue cutter came to anchor right alongside of me. I could not get away, as the wind blowed a stiffer right into the harbor. All at once I had it. I sent ashore and borrowed two young calves from one of my old customers, and lifted them on deck. I dressed two of my Nantucket boys in women's clothes topping them off with a pair of bonnets sent in my vessel as a venture. By the first peep of day I sent them to washing shirts, and as I seed the crew of the cutter about to move, I went in my little boat and axed the people of the cruiser if they would give me a bit of canvas to mend my mainsail, and sure enough they gave me a fairish piece. There we all lay till twelve o'clock, my women washing and drying clothes, and our calves bleating like mad for their mothers. The wind came round, the cutter got under weigh, and as she rounded past us the captain hailed, and asked if I would sell one of the calves. I told him they were a particular breed, and not for sale. The captain answered he thought that remark would apply to our whole crew. And when I saw that his jib was turned the right way, I made a low bow to him, sent my calves on shore, turned my washerwomen into boys again, and finished the trade of the Peggy Ann.'

"In another instance, 'it was stark calm, and as the fog cleared up a little I saw I was in the very jaws of a ship of war, and I gave up all for lost; however, as they were lowering their jolly-boat to board me, I skulled off to them in my little punt, and asked the people in the ship if they knowed what was good for the measles. I could hear them

laugh from stem to stern; and a big fat man they called the doctor, told me to keep my patients warm, and give them hot drinks. It was enough; they took care not to come nearer the Peggy Ann that time.' ”

More than half a century passed away, marked by various disputes and treaties, when, finally, the Treaty of Washington was signed. This instrument stipulated that the fisheries of both countries should be thrown open reciprocally. England soon complained that the privileges granted were greater than those accorded her in return, and it was finally agreed to refer the matter to a commission composed of three members:—one from the United States, one from Great Britain, and a third to be named by the Emperor of Austria. After a delay of nearly six years the commission was organized, the three arbitrators being DeForse, Sir A. T. Galt, and ex-Judge Kellogg, of Massachusetts.—Judge Foster, assisted by R. H. Dana, Jr., and others, had charge of the American side. The interests of Canada were mainly confided to Mr. Doutre, an eminent lawyer of Montreal.

The British case was divided into two parts—Canada, and Newfoundland. It held, in effect, that fishing in American waters was worthless, claiming an award of \$12,000,000 for the use by the Americans of the Canadian inshore fisheries for twelve years—the period covered by the treaty—and \$2,280,000 for the use of the Newfoundland fisheries. The Americans denied substantially these claims. The commission awarded Great Britain \$5,500,000, to be paid within the year. The treaty expires by stipulation in 1885.

LEGENDS.

It is not without some degree of solicitude that we append this portion of the book, not so much from a suspicion that it is out of place in authentic history, as from the fear its purpose may be misunderstood.

Closely associated with the every-day life of a pastoral people is always to be found a deal of folk-lore, to which their customs, their religion, and their surroundings give a coloring. The traditions of a country are generally founded on actual occurrences, and reflect, with singular fidelity, the social and intellectual condition of its people; and, moreover, these traditionary tales often constitute the only data at the command of the antiquarian to aid in determining important historical questions. These legends were picked up at the country firesides during a sojourn in this mysterious and romantic region; and the effort has been made to render them presentable, at the same time giving an insight into the peculiar customs of the early Acadian peasantry, and also a description of the more salient features in the natural phenomena of this tide-swept, storm-beaten, fog-bound land of ice and snows. This is done with the design of aiding the student of history to a better understanding of the strictly authentic portions of this volume, at the same time they may serve to draw the attention of the superficial reader.

We should not omit a favorable mention of the garrulous little Frenchman, Pierre, who was most profoundly versed in the hidden lore of this mysterious land, and whom we occasionally employed in the capacity of *cicerone*, to whose kind offices the reader is indebted for much contained in the succeeding chapters.

THE CHURCH OF GRAND PRÉ.

During one of our evening rambles about Grand Pré, we came upon a number of hollows partially filled with earth and debris, and overgrown with a rank growth of weeds and bushes. These excavations are to be met with in great numbers along the banks of the Canard and Cornwallis rivers, and in the valley of the Gaspereau, and mark the cellars on which stood the thatched dwellings of the peaceful Acadians, that were burned by order of Colonel Winslow. The shades of the northern twilight began to deepen, casting spectral shadows among a group of French willows, which, transported from far France more than a century ago, yet sadly waved their few scattered branches over the despoiled home of the hand that had planted them. Whose children had played under their shade, or what their fate, is only a matter of conjecture; but we do know that virtue, contentment and domestic happiness reigned in those Acadian homes, and that the fondest and dearest hopes of thousands were, in one short hour, broken in sunder. I had not noticed the absence of Pierre, until I heard him calling to me from a neighboring field. On coming up I found him intently observing some faintly marked ridges in the verdant clover. "Some Acadian relic!" I said to myself, wondering what new romance was about to be unraveled.

"Here," said he after a moment's pause, "here's the very



“They heard strange noises in the air, and saw unusual sights in the sky.—Page 323.

spot where stood the church of Grand Pré, in which the French were imprisoned and their fate announced to them."

On a closer inspection I found we were standing in a small rectangle marked by a slight rise of earth at the four sides, and which evidently had been the site of a building of some sort. Not wishing to manifest any doubt as to the correctness of the information, I said inquiringly, "I have understood the site of that church was at the end of that row of willows yonder, where you see that charred stump."

"I know," said Pierre, "some say it stood there, but you see they are mistaken. My grandfather, who ran into the woods and did not leave the country, pointed out this as the place. He used to say, that the bell of the church was buried, just before the English came, in a vault built of stone, and covered with earth. The vault was walled up in two parts; into one of these they put the bell, and the other was for the church treasure. You see times then were just a bit uncertain, and most of the people had buried their specie. My grandfather said that for a time previous, the people frequently heard strange noises in the air, and saw unusual sights in the sky at night, and they thought these things were the forerunners of some great evil."

"Then the bell lies buried here yet," said I.

"Oh, there you are mistaken," replied Pierre. "Some believe that the bell and the church treasure were dug up and carried away by robbers. A great many years ago a strange vessel was observed in the Basin of Minas, and a party of men were seen to leave it about midnight and come ashore here. Before daybreak a terrible storm arose, and the next morning nothing was seen of the ship. Some thought that during the night, while the wind was blowing loudest, they heard sounds of a church bell, but little was thought of it, until they observed the earth had been disturbed; and a piece of wood was picked up near this place, of a shape sometimes used to support a bell in a tower.

From these circumstances they were led to surmise that robbers had found out where the vault was, and carried away what they wanted. But the strangers were probably lost in the storm, as the wreck of an unknown vessel was found by some fishermen a day or two subsequently at the foot of Cape Blomidon. You see they couldn't carry off that bell, and the priest's robes and things that belonged to the church, that is, those who hadn't any right to, and the heavy gale that night was raised up to defeat their plans."

"Then the bell is in the bottom of Minas Basin," interrupted I.

"My grandfather was one who didn't believe this story, but claimed the contents of the vault were put on board a vessel bound to the Gaspé coast, and were intended for a chapel at a village of some Acadians who had taken refuge there; but the ship was lost within sight of land, and every soul on board perished. It is said the captain and crew had seized the treasure, and divided it among themselves, and were not permitted to land with their ill-gotten wealth. And they say that bell is sometimes heard, even to this very day, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, during heavy storms."

"And you really believe this you are telling me," said I.

"It's what others have told me, and I have no reason to believe it is not true," he replied. "Have you never heard of Captain Piercy, who was caught in such a terrible storm on the Gulf, that he would never go to sea again? Well, may be you'd like to hear the story?"

"By all means," I answered. "But let's sit down under this clump of buckthorn, and hand me that ulster. The air is chilly with the damp from the meadows, and we will wait for the moon to light us home."

A MYSTERY OF THE GASPE COAST.

A summer night on the Laurentian waters ! The sky is resplendent with the northern constellations, that twinkle and glow with a brilliancy unknown in lower latitudes, and every star mirrored in the vast deep beneath. Scarce a ripple moves the surface of the sea, and only the measured heave ever present in the St. Lawrence Gulf, serves to dispel the illusion that the *Dauphine* is floating in mid-air. Passengers and crew are gathered on deck, the greater portion in that listless attitude one assumes when the mind is far away. Everyone seems to have forgotten the Gaspé youth, whose apparent verdancy had made him the object of disparagement the whole day; and even Mother Brus-saud, who was usually either complaining of the present, or borrowing trouble of the future, for once is strangely silent.

I was reclining at full length, lulled by the unusual quiet into that delicious, half-dreamy state, in which past and present seem blended together. The sails of the *Dauphine* hung useless from her yards; the sailors moved about with a noiseless tread; everything on board comported with the unwonted hush and stillness that characterized the elements.

While I was thus reposing, I suddenly became conscious of an unusual sound. Was it fancy, or did something tangible really affect my outward senses ? Presently I heard the sound repeated, but in scarcely audible tones, not un-

like the notes of a distant church bell. I assumed an upright posture, and gazed about me. Once more the mellow cadence was borne upon the night air, this time with more distinctness than before. I abruptly broke the silence with—

“Hark! Did you hear that bell?”

A number thought they did hear something; others suggested I had been dreaming, and were inclined to raise a laugh at my expense. The Captain, noting the sudden renewal of conversation, now came up to see what was going on.

“The gentleman insists that he just now heard a chapel bell ringing for vespers,” exclaimed one of the passengers, pointing to me.

“Listen a moment and be convinced,” said I, beginning to get not a little piqued; “the sound seemed to come from that direction,” and I indicated the Labrador coast.

All now assumed an attitude of listening—some I suspected, from their mock gravity, more bent on mischief than in expectation of hearing the bell. The suspense was becoming irksome; but suddenly all were startled, when from over the sea came the distinct notes of a bell, several strokes following each other in regular succession, then ceasing.

“Perhaps it’s the bell of some convent on shore,” said one, addressing the Captain.

“That can hardly be,” answered that officer; “we’re at least two hundred miles from the coast of Labrador, and the sound seems to come from that direction.”

“It’s the bell of doom,” growled an old sailor, Tarpaulin Jack, who was lazily smoking his pipe as he leaned over the taffrail, peering in the direction from whence the sound came.

“I knowed sumthin’ was sure to happen,” chimed in Mother Brussaud. “I told my folks so before I left, but they only laughed. A loup-garou screamed around our house one night not long ago, and only last night I dreamed

of seein' a pale blue light on the water;" and the old woman drew a small crucifix from her bosom, and began devoutly to implore the interposition of the good St. Anne to protect her.

"Whatever it is, we're rapidly nearing it," said the Captain after a pause; "don't you see the strokes are becoming more distinct each time?"

The truth of the Captain's observation was apparent,—the tones of the bell were momentarily becoming louder, and the cause, whatever it might be, was rapidly coming nearer. The Captain now called for his night-glass, but was unable to detect any unusual object. "Here, Leopold," turning to a sailor at his side—"you have the sharpest eyes of any on the ship, take this and tell us what you can see."

"I see some white object, like the sails of a vessel. Hold on! I have got the thing to a focus. I'll be blowed if it ain't a packet under full sail, and she pitches and rocks as though in a heavy sea."

"Take the glass once more and tell us her course," said the Captain.

"Nearly due west, sir," said the sailor: and in a moment more he added,— "and as sure as I'm alive, they have got a bell rigged to the mast-head, that rings at each pitch of the vessel. That's a queer craft and no mistake."

"Port the helm two points," said the Captain to the man at the wheel, "I am going to run down that ship; I have never yet steered aloof from anything that floats in these waters, and I am going to find out what it all means.—What more can you make out, Leopold?"

"Nothing, nothing—only they seem to be having a storm all to themselves. I can see the white caps of the waves all about their ship, and I can see sailors skurrying about the decks and in the riggin', as though their lives depended on it. She's a clumsy craft, sir, like they used to build a hundred years ago. I can see a woman all in white,

and she looks to be wringing her hands. I don't like the looks of them at all, sir!"

"Lower the long boat," thundered the Captain. "Who'll volunteer to board that vessel?" Then as he received no immediate answer, he continued—"I'll go myself. Will any of you go along? Are you afraid to follow me?"

"I'm not afraid of anything in the shape of flesh and blood, Captain," said an old sailor, coming forward, "and I'll go with you anywhere; but I don't like the looks of that 'ere vessel. Every one of them sailors are spooks, and that's the *Tourmente*, stove on the rocks near here over a hundred years ago, and every man on board drowned. I've heard strange stories, Captain, about that ship, and I'd rather give her a wide berth."

Eager listeners now crowded round the old sailor, to hear more about the phantom ship. Tradition said that the French people at Grand Pré buried the bell and the treasure of the church just previous to its burning by the English. The vault was subsequently opened, and the contents put on board the *Tourmente* for transportation to a Catholic chapel on the Gaspé coast; but the captain forcibly seized the treasure and divided it between himself and the crew. This was done contrary to the earnest protestations of a Catholic priest, who pronounced a curse upon all who participated in the affair. This priest left the ship at the other side of the Gulf, and the vessel proceeded. But before she reached her destination, yet within sight of people living on the coast, a terrible storm arose, which dashed the ship against the rocks, and not a soul survived to tell of the catastrophe. Sailors tell of meeting with the spectral vessel and its skeleton crew, always in the teeth of a terrible gale, who are obliged, by reason of the curse pronounced against them, to sail up and down the gulf, until the bell is restored to its rightful owners. It's an ill omen to hear the ringing of a bell on these waters, previous to a

storm, and the fishing craft frequenting these parts regard a meeting with that mysterious sail as something to be avoided.

"Why, I am sure there are no indications of a storm just now," observed the Captain, anxious to allay the fears that were arising among the passengers at the superstitious notions of the old sailor. And, in obedience to the general wish, he did not pursue further his purpose of boarding the strange ship.

Nearer and nearer came the phantom vessel, till the white sails were visible to the naked eye. As the relative position of the two vessels changed, the binnacle lamp of the stranger was brought into view, that threw a pale light over the surrounding objects. Her sails were bellied as if in the face of a heavy gale. Then the skeleton shapes could be seen moving about as though in the execution of orders.—The rocking and pitching of the vessel, the swinging of ropes and blocks, the dashing of the waves against her side, and the white foam at her prow,—all this was plainly visible, yet unaccompanied by any sound, save the clanging of the bell at the mast-head. This was the more singular, as our own vessel was still becalmed, the breeze hardly sufficing to keep the *Dauphine's* head in her course.

On came the spectral vessel, crossing our bows so closely as to allow the blue binnacle light to flicker full in our faces. The female figure in white appeared as a young girl, in the attitude of despair. The old legend says she was a passenger on board the ill-fated *Tourmente*, and was lost with the crew, in sight of her lover on shore. The latter, maddened at the sight of her struggling in the water, plunged into the breakers and perished with her. Everything about the decks of the strange ship, the dress of the unearthly crew and the cut of the sails, was of a fashion pertaining to the reign of the Georges.

Scarcely had the apparition passed, when a strange op-

pressiveness in the air became manifest; and before the passengers and crew had recovered from their surprise, they were startled by an exclamation from the mate:—the barometer had suddenly fallen, an alarming indication that a violent gale was at hand.

Instantly all was activity on board the *Dauphine*. The hoarse orders of the mate, the answers of the sailors, the creaking of blocks, all betokened how imminent the danger was thought to be, and that brave men were doing their utmost to prepare for it. Before any one was really aware of it, the sky had become overcast, and a thick darkness settled over the vessel;—a darkness broken only by the phosphorescent gleaming on the water, and a mere spark far to the west, the binnacle light of the retreating phantom ship. The very elements seemed to be conspiring. The stoutest hearts beat more quickly. The Captain forgot to intersperse his orders with the usual oaths. The sailors no longer indulged in their coarse jokes; and the human voice had such an unusual sound in the rarefied atmosphere, that no words were spoken save those necessary to the working of the ship. Passengers clung to one another, and many embraced with the thought they had looked their last upon the green earth. Soon all preparations were made; and the officers and crew, having done all that human hands could do for the safety of those on board, awaited the coming of the tempest.

“Hold fast your lines and be ready, every man at his post,” said the chief officer in solemn, measured tones, “there’s no knowing from which direction the gale will first strike us. God help we may not be driven toward land, for if—”

All at once the whole sky seemed rent from horizon to horizon by a terrible flash of lightning. It was the most blinding flash I ever remember to have seen; the whole surface of the sea seemed ablaze with the horrid glare; and so frightfully vivid had been the momentary gleam, that it was

some time before the power of the eye was restored. Then followed a solemn, hollow peal of thunder, utterly insignificant compared with the flash, which seemed so mysterious as still further to depress the spirits of all.

"I don't like the looks of this thing," said the man at the wheel, rubbing his eyes. By this time most of the passengers had sought their berths. The crew had been told that none would be allowed to go below that night, but were to remain at their posts ready for any emergency. All above was literally black with a ponderous darkness, which rendered all the more marked the green and blue of the phosphorescent gleaming of the water about the vessel. While watching the play of the weird and flickering lights as they darted and dipped about the ripples, resolving themselves into strange and fanciful figures, I was blinded by another flash of lightning, accompanied with an instantaneous report of thunder. Masts, spars, and vessel seemed all on fire; I thought I heard a cry, and knew that we were struck, but in what part of the ship I could not tell. The mate who also heard the cry, now came forward and inquired if any one was hurt. While he was speaking a confused roar was heard in the distance, which momentarily increased until it resembled the rush of a cataract, and every one knew it was coming.

"Helm hard aport!" was heard in tones not to be misunderstood. "Quick, now."

"Aye, aye, sir," came the answer. Then followed the creaking of the rudderpost; slowly, and all feared too slowly, the good ship answered to her helm. Then came another blinding flash, a louder peal of thunder, and a gust struck the vessel that almost took the masts bodily out of her. All this occurred in such rapid succession that nothing could be said or done till it was past.

"If that's only a feeler, there'll be business for us when the storm settles down in earnest," said Tarpaulin Jack.

Meantime the vessel had been brought to her course. A man was sent to assist the one at the wheel; while the others stood by for a sudden call. The second charge of the storm's outriders was not long in waiting. It struck the ship with still more violence than the former one. All were in momentary expectation of hearing the snapping of a mast or the giving way of a sail, but the staunch vessel bore it well, and tore through the water like a race-horse.

"We're heading towards the nearest land," said the Captain; if the gale continues long at this rate, nothing short of a miracle can keep us off the Gaspé reefs. Do you see that?"—and he pointed directly astern.

The sea was one mass of foam and surging billows, and the phosphorescent glow everywhere present, enabled one to see in any direction. Directly in the rear of us was a black cloud, while beneath this cloud, and in contact with the white-crested waves, was a dull luminous mist of a reddish hue. It was this that the Captain had noticed. A new sound now reached us—the roar accompanying this nebulous cloud: as it came up it fairly howled about our ears. This bellowing of the wind is something one never hears except at sea. It differs from the roar of the winter's blast as it rushes down the mountain and sweeps along the valley; it seems endowed with a fiendish propensity, that delights in wreck and ruin, and whose sole mission is to destroy.—Its shriek among the shrouds is a sound never to be forgotten, and sets at nought all description. A two-fold strength seemed added to the force of the gale, and the hardest sailor was obliged to turn his back to the wind, and hold on by main strength to whatever was at hand to keep from being blown into the sea.

Once all was given up for lost.—A heavy wave buried the vessel and knocked the men from the wheel; before she could be righted another billow struck her at a disadvantage; fortunately, the helm was put down, and the ship an-

swering it promptly, she was brought out of imminent danger. The men were now lashed to the wheel to prevent a repetition of such a catastrophe.

In this way passed the hours till after midnight. But little change was noticeable; the gale was scarcely abated; the laboring and straining of the noble ship began to tell on her strength; she groaned audibly as wave after wave passed over her, and the practiced ears of the sailors knew she could not bear it much longer.

Shortly after midnight, during a temporary lull in the tempest, a shriek broke upon the air; in a few moments it was repeated. Was it from the sea or sky, or did it come from some part of the ship? What could it mean? "Go below, Leopold, and see if all is right."

The sailor made his way with difficulty along the slippery deck, being twice washed from his feet and jammed against the mast with so much force as to knock the wind out of him; after repeated trials he at length reached the gangway, and disappeared down the ladder.

Presently we heard him calling for the Captain, who proceeded to the gangway, directing me to follow. At the foot stood Leopold, with a lantern in his hand, and his face the very picture of terror. Without uttering a word he led us directly to the berth occupied by Mother Brussaude, when what a sight met our gaze! There lay the old woman, holding in one hand the crucifix, with both arms extended as if for help, with her eyes turned upward in her head until nothing but the whites were visible, stone dead! A dark streak passed down the face and along the left arm of the unfortunate woman, the quick work of the lightning's flash. Her forebodings had this time been realized. She had evidently been dead some hours, and if so, what was that cry just heard? At this moment an unusual movement was heard on deck, and we hurried up to see what new danger menaced us.

"What is that bright light to the west, sir," said a sailor to the Captain who reached the deck during one of the brief lulls of the storm, "are we nearing the land?"

"That comes from the binnacle of the ship the spooks are sailing in," answered another tar.

Presently the voice of the Captain was heard—"Is there any one on board that's acquainted with this coast? In half an hour we'll be among the breakers!"

For several minutes no one answered. The Captain repeated the question—"Does any among you know this coast?" Still no answer came. Every individual on board knew their situation was almost hopeless, and all shrank from assuming any responsibility in such a dire extremity. It was a time of terrible suspense. They were being driven forward with frightful rapidity, every moment bearing them nearer to what seemed inevitable destruction. All at once a voice rang out clear above the roar of the storm and seething of the billows—

"I do, sir!"

There was something in that voice that revived hope in every breast. "Well, come forward, and let's know who and what you are," shouted the Captain. But when the Gaspé youth, Ettrinee, came up, a murmur of disapprobation ran through the crew. Even the Captain could not help partaking of the general sentiment; but as he turned the light of the lamp full on the youth, a look of surprise lighted up the features of that officer.

The young man was no longer the diffident and hesitating youth of the day before. Every line of his countenance was animated, the figure erect, the voice strong and manly, and he stood the scrutiny of the Captain with a grace that evinced a consciousness of his own powers.

"Well, who are you, and what do you know about it," said the Captain in as gruff a voice as he could assume.

"I was born within a league of where this vessel is likely

to strike, and know every cove and reef within twenty miles." This was uttered with a freedom and decision that at once made friends of the crew.

"How do you know, young man, where this ship is going to strike, when there are no lighthouses within fifty miles of here, and the night is so thick you can almost cut it with a knife. You can't see a cliff before you can touch it with your hand, and the thing is utterly impossible unless you are in league with those imps yonder in that ghost of a ship." This was spoken in a way that was intended to annihilate the lad; but he answered without changing a feature, or abating a whit of his animation—

"You see that light just ahead?"

"Yes, and it's the binnacle lamp of the spooks."

"So be it," said the boy. "To follow directly in the path of that light is your only chance. The phantom ship is heading direct for Shelter Cove, to be dashed in pieces against a sunken rock at the mouth of the channel, at the very spot where the real vessel was wrecked over a hundred years ago. The ghost of the maiden's lover will be awaiting her on the cliff with a spectre bonfire, that lights up the sea for a great distance. By the aid of that light, and by noting where the phantom ship disappears, one acquainted with the channel may possibly bring his ship into the harbor." Then as if noticing evidences of incredulity on the part of his hearers, he continued: "Once a year, at each anniversary of the wreck, this whole scene is gone through; I have several times gone down to the beach to see the bonfire, and the ghost of the young man springing from the cliff to join the maid!"

"And do you suppose you can pilot this vessel into the channel you speak of? Recollect, young man, this is a terrible storm, and many lives are dependent on the safety of the ship. Are you willing to take the risk if I see fit to give you the authority?"

"I do not hesitate to take the risk on one condition," responded the youth.

"Name it," said the Captain.

"I will assume the responsibility on condition that I can have the entire control. It's your only chance. If the ship behaves well, and the sails hold, I think we can bring her safely through. You will have to decide pretty soon, as I can already hear the sound of breakers ahead," said the boy.

A hurried consultation of the officers was held; the idea of trusting their lives to a perfect stranger, and who was to be guided in his course by lights and signs not of earth, appeared a purpose too wild and visionary to be entertained. However, the Captain favored the plan, and as there seemed to be no better course, a reluctant consent was given.

"Go ahead, lad, and let's see what you can do," said the Captain in the presence of the officers.

"First I want the mizzen stay-sail bent to its place."

"Why, madman!" said the mate, "the ship has all the sails she can stagger under now; and would you have her blown clear out of water? Besides, no sailors could bend a sail of that size in the teeth of such a blast!"

"Give the lad the trumpet," said the Captain; "I see he has the stuff in him, and I believe he knows what he's about. If the spooks will have the kindness to light us into the harbor, I for one won't object. Give the lad the trumpet, and let's see what comes of it!" This command the mate surlily obeyed, and dropped away muttering to himself.

But the youth, not apparently noticing the demeanor of that officer, caught up the instrument, and began to give the orders so rapidly and intelligently, as to excite the admiration of all, not excepting the mate. The sail was bent to its place with a promptness that was remarkable—the crew evidently imbibing the spirit of the youthful sailor, for such he had already proved himself. The Captain, meanwhile, was clapping his hands, so pleased was he at the masterly

manner of its accomplishment. As soon as the *Dauphine* felt the force of this additional canvas, she fairly leaped from wave to wave; all looked to see the sail torn to shreds, or the masts shaken out of their sockets.

"She's as staunch a ship as ever was afloat, and she'll do her best to get out of this scrape," sang out the Captain, as soon as he perceived she would bear the strain.

"I want two of the most experienced helmsmen at the wheel, and your best leadsman forward. Now every man at his post and be ready at the word."

The orders were quickly obeyed and all hands were looking towards the phantom ship; presently a flash was seen, as though a cannon had been fired, though no report was heard: this was followed by another and another at regular intervals.

"The spooks are signaling for help," explained the youth. Almost immediately a light was seen to break out on the summit of a cliff—a pallid, unnatural brightness, yet sufficient to illuminate the sea for miles. By its aid the endless lines of breakers could be seen on all sides, only a tortuous, dark line between the crests marked the course of the channel.

Presently the spectral ship was seen to stagger; her prow shot upward, and then the vessel settled slowly down stern foremost, and was engulfed in the waves. Not a sound accompanied the catastrophe, only the mournful cadence of the bell, still pendant at the mast-head, which kept its sepulchral tolling until it disappeared from sight. And now the figure of the girl in white appeared on the boiling surf, casting up her arms wildly, as if imploring help; an outburst from the crew of the *Dauphine* followed, as from the summit of the cliff the form of a man appeared in the act of leaping into the sea: the twain were seen for a moment, clasped in each other's arms, and then sank from sight.

Instantly, ship, crew and sea were enveloped in almost

Cimmerian darkness. Captain and crew stood spell-bound, as if doubting the evidence of their senses. Not so with the youth, however; for while the others had been wholly occupied with the apparition, his practiced eye had been taking in the location of the channel; and no sooner had the light disappeared than the sharp tones of the trumpet were again heard ringing above the roar of the tempest. The orders came rapidly, and were executed as promptly.

"Breakers ahead," shouted the lookout forward.

"Breakers on the lee bow," sang out another.

"Had n't you better take soundings," cried the captain.

"Not yet," answered the youth; and at the same breath issuing the necessary commands to the helmsmen and those at the braces, the dreaded reef was soon left astern.

On went the vessel, plunging heavily into the darkness. The compass remained unnoticed in its box; the line with the deep-sea lead was yet coiled in the hands of the leadsmen; everything depended on the voice of the stranger youth, whom many of the sailors began to suspect as some being more than human, sent by their patron saint to bring about their deliverance. They saw, by the occasional flashes of lightning, they were close in shore, and could make out the dismal, sullen dashing of the waves against the base of the cliffs.

"Helm hard a-port,"—came forth from the trumpet, and every one knew a critical moment had arrived. The rudder-post turned in its socket not a moment too soon, for as the vessel wore round, a flash of lightning revealed a rock which seemed to have arisen directly out of the sea, against which the yard arms almost grazed as the ship was brought about. Thus passed the moments away,—moments which seemed lengthened into hours to that anxious crew. Repeatedly was the staunch craft afterwards brought out of perils quite as imminent, the youthful pilot proving himself, thus far, equal to every emergency.

"I see," said the captain, who was continually giving utterance to words of encouragement,—*"I see how the lad manages it; he is guided by the racket of the rips, and the sounds upon the shore. A quick ear is worth everything in such an emergency. We'll be out of this, yet, you may take my word for it."*

"Now," said the youth, after a few minutes had elapsed, *"now comes the critical moment of all. We must wear the ship about so as to enter that opening in the line of breakers on the left. If there should be a favoring lull in the tempest for only the briefest period, we may yet make the port in safety, otherwise all we have yet done avails us nothing."*

All now awaited the crisis in breathless anxiety. They were near the point where the vessel must veer her course, or be driven to speedy destruction; while to maneuver except during the lulls was to capsize her. God help there may be a favoring coincidence!

The ship was now almost abreast the opening, but the tempest acted as though understanding their purpose, and was determined to thwart it. A moment more and it will be too late!

Just as all hope was dying out, the wind ceased its fury, as though in obedience to a guiding hand. The orders were given; the ship seemed to realize her peril, for she sprang to her new course with a celerity that was surprising. A few moments and her prow shot into the narrow opening, and as a wild shout of the crew went up at their miraculous deliverance, the good ship rode gayly into the gently heaving current of the harbor.

SPIRIT CAMP.

The day had been excessively warm. By the aid of our paddles alone, we had measured more than a score of miles since dawn. We took time to pause and cast a fly in the deep shade of a fir-clad rock, and were rewarded with a number of the speckled beauties. The rifle of Pierre had brought down a brace of grouse at one of our landings for water; and we were cheered with the prospect of a supper "fit for the King."

We were stopping a few days, Pierre and I, amid the matchless scenery of the lakes among the Blue Mountains—that paradise of the hunter and angler. Early in the morning we passed an Indian village. It was composed of some dozen wigwams, situated on a small island, in a natural meadow, bordered by a grove of sugar maples. The wigwams were built in the Indian fashion, circular in form, with oval tops, and covered with bark. The entrances were low, and they looked as though a person could not stand upright in them. The squaws and papposes were dodging in and out, and otherwise manifesting a coyness of disposition, mingled with a curiosity to behold us. The men appeared to be absent on a hunting expedition. We noticed among them a number of pretty girls, with unmistakable signs of white blood in their veins, dressed in good taste, and chattering in French. There is a melancholy interest attached to them, as they are the descendants of wretched Acadian

mothers, who, to escape a worse fate, threw themselves into the arms of savages. It is hard to conceive, at the present time, of the extremity to which a white woman must be reduced to drive her to such an alternative. These females are adepts at managing an oar. Standing up in their boats, with a large straw hat confined to the head with a narrow black string passing from the crown under the chin, the large brim standing out straight, they are odd figures enough. They will shoot a canoe over a rapid with inimitable dexterity, and with as much ease as a boy will manage a wheelbarrow.

The sun yet wanted some hours to setting when our canoe shot into a lake of unprecedented beauty. Islands of every imaginable contour rose up within it. Here a single rock crowned with a solitary tuft of evergreen, stood side by side with its more assuming neighbor, bristling with clumps of fir, shaggy with *Usnea*, and fragrant with resinous balsams. There was a still larger island, with groves of maple, beech and birches, with natural meadows luxuriant with native grasses, and glowing with patches of wild flowers—the familiar haunt of the fallow deer. Now and then a pebbly beach held out a tempting lure to embark. Quiet, sylvan scenes opened up as we coasted along; while frequently our boat grazed over patches of water-lilies, arrowheads and other aquatic plants, or glided under the shade of “mossy banks” overhung with the dark foliage of the hemlock.

Beneath us were myriads of the finny tribes, as we knew by the splash and ripples they made as they leaped to catch the unwary fly; we could see deer quietly feeding on the lily-pads, and overhead wheeled flocks of wild water-fowl. “Here,” exclaimed I, “here are the fabled Indian Gardens, and here will I pitch my tent in the wilderness.”

While leisurely floating along, we came in sight of a plat of greensward, shaded by a grove of immense oaks, looking so cool and delicious, and withal so inviting, that I involun-

tarily uttered an exclamation of surprise, and announced a determination to bivouac there for the night. I thought I detected an expression in Pierre that was unfavorable to my plan, but so enthusiastic was I, that I did not stop to consult him, otherwise I might never have told the following story. In a few moments the keel of our boat grated on the soft and yielding sand; stepping on the beach we lifted the frail craft from the water, putting it down beside one of the druidical trunks. Leaving Pierre to prepare supper, I set out to reconnoiter.

A little brook ran down the outer circle of the grove: the clearness of the water, and the mossy banks along which it flowed, struck my eye at once, and I prepared to cast my fly. With varying fortune I ascended the stream a considerable distance, until it led me into what had once been a clearing. It was considerably overgrown with underbrush, but there were several gnarled apple trees, and remains of cellars; and a further exploration revealed a little cemetery containing a number of graves, on one of which was a stone cross, overgrown with moss, and beaten with the storms of many winters. This, as I have since learned, is but a sample of what may be seen in many of the out-of-way places in the Province. They are the relics of the fleeing Acadians, who, in the memorable years of 1755-60, took refuge in these mountains to escape from the English who were remorselessly hunting them from the territory,—grim mementoes of the sufferings of a sadly afflicted people!

It was near sundown when I returned. My faithful guide had dressed the grouse and had them spitted on long sticks stuck into the ground. The trout had been rolled in flour and were broiling on thin, flat stones laid on the coals. The odor of the coffee was cheering, and Pierre had prepared a surprise for me in the shape of a dessert of the wild berries which studded the rich vegetable mould over which we walked.



“There, not 20 feet from where we had been sleeping were two figures launching a canoe.— Page 343.

The stars had come out as we finished our repast. We chose a choice bit of ground, collected some branches of a resinous fir for fuel, and trimmed spruce branches enough to make an elastic bed several inches in depth. The smoke of the camp-fire drove away the mosquitoes; and, wrapped in our blankets, with the blaze lighting up the overhead foliage from beneath, until it glowed like a golden fret-work against the dark mossy trunks and tangled copse, we committed ourselves to the god of slumber, testifying to the correctness of the observation that there is no completer comfort than a seat by the camp-fire,—no sweeter rest than when the boughs of the forest are both our bed and our canopy.

I know not how long I had been sleeping, when I was aroused by the strange movements of the dog. As I looked from under the blanket, he was sitting upon his haunches, his nose pointed toward a little cove bordered with alders, uttering low whinings not unlike the moanings of a human being, and occasionally breaking into a howl that gave rise to strange forebodings as they fell upon the ear in the silence of that lonely camp.

"Be still, Carlo," said I, surmising the dog had heard the stealthy tread of some wild animal lurking in the bushes. But the dog would not be still. Just then the guide, who had been awakened by the noise, pointed towards the little cove and abruptly exclaimed—

"See there!"

I looked as he indicated, and saw what made my blood curdle! There, not twenty feet from where we had been sleeping, were two figures in human form, a male and female, in the act of launching a canoe. That they were not real persons was evident, as we could see objects through them as through mist, and their movements were of that airy sort that sets at naught the laws of gravitation. They were apparently in great haste, frequently looking back as

if in fear of being followed. They seemed not to notice our proximity; and, as soon as they were seated in their canoe, paddled swiftly out into the lake, and disappeared among the numerous islands.

"We're on enchanted ground," exclaimed I, some time after our strange visitants had departed, "and this explains your reluctance to pitch our camp here. Why didn't you tell me that lost spirits haunted this spot, and that we were likely to have visitors around our camp-fire other than those of flesh and blood?"

"I confess I didn't like the idea of stopping here, but I knew you would only laugh at me. I saw something one night, some years ago, when encamped in this very place, with no companion but my dog, something I never dared tell of," answered the guide. "I jumped into my boat and was miles away before morning, and I never visited the spot again until to-day. The dog, there, knows that something is around here that ought not to be; see, how he trembles! Say, Carlo, what's the matter, hey?"—and the noble beast, thus appealed to, came up to the guide, and, in his dog language, craved protection in the most piteous manner.

"I saw indications of an old settlement just back of our camp; were those spirit voyageurs that we just now saw, in any way associated with the tenants of those forgotten graves I stumbled over, and who for some cause are obliged to revisit the scenes of their active life? They certainly did not seem like Indians," exclaimed I, half meditatively.

"Yes," said the guide, "at least I have heard old hunters say so. The story has been told many a time but I can't say how much truth there is in it."

"I'm too wide awake for sleep," I exclaimed, "and who knows but what our visitors will be back again pretty soon. I propose, in that case, to scrape a closer acquaintance. In the meantime, let's have the story. I dare say it's a bloody adventure, or it wouldn't be necessary for those fellows to

leave the quiet of their graves, and revisit the haunts of men."

At that moment a piercing cry went up from the forest on the further shore of the lake, ending in a prolonged howl that echoed and reverberated among the woods, and then died away. "It's some hungry panther that's got a sniff of our supper," said Pierre. "I heard him early in the evening, and I think he's working round this way. Maybe he'll pay us a visit before morning." With these words the guide threw a fresh lot of fuel on the coals, and immediately the blaze caught among the dry branches, roaring and leaping up, and sending the sparks high above the tree-tops. The huge oak trunks looked like grim sentinels in the flickering fire-light, and we almost expected to see the dusky forms of Indian warriors of old start up in the surrounding darkness, disturbed at our intrusion of their domains.—While reposing at full length, gazing up at the canopy of leaves glowing overhead, and shrouding everything outside our fire-light in darkness, the following tale was told me.

It was during that stormy period when the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were being forcibly driven from their homes, that a number of families at Annapolis Royal, hearing of the fate of their countrymen at Grand Pré and Windsor, collected such of their goods as they could conveniently carry away, together with a portion of their stock, and fled to the mountains. It was with the greatest difficulty they made their way through the woods. Exposed to the September storms of that latitude, with no shelter even at night, the more feeble among them soon died. A mother, with a sick babe at her breast, would toil on as best she could; the New England troops were in close pursuit, and no delay could be made; giving the little darling one last embrace as its spirit took flight, she would hastily consign its body to the new-made grave, and in one short hour would again join in the march.

The route taken by the refugees could be followed by the newly-covered mounds, and the carcasses of the cattle and horses that were continually giving out, and were left to their fate. It seemed as though the wild beasts for miles around had formed themselves into a rear detachment; and the nights were made hideous with their howlings as they quarreled and fought over the remains of some poor cow or faithful horse that could go no farther. The fierce animals became so bold that they even menaced the camps; no one dare stir out alone after nightfall, outside the light of their fires, for fear of being devoured. What rendered their situation still more helpless, they had no weapons for defense, their guns having been taken from them some time before, by order of the English Governor.

In the midst of these difficulties, pursued by wild beasts and their still more implacable human foes, this band of refugees at length succeeded in reaching the vicinity of these lakes. At that time a powerful band of Micmac Indians had put up their wigwams in this grove, who, taking the fleeing Acadians under their protection, sent out a body of warriors and intercepted a detachment of English soldiers that had penetrated to within a short distance of this spot.

The French refugees, believing themselves safe from further pursuit, commenced a settlement, the remains of which I had accidentally discovered the day before. By the help of the Indians, temporary log huts were erected; a supply of fish was caught and dried for winter use; corn was furnished by the Indians and game supplied the balance of the food. Later, some of the young men visited Annapolis Royal, where they had the good fortune to secure a quantity of grain and flax that had escaped the general destruction, and safely drove back a few head of cattle. By degrees they made themselves comfortable houses; the next season they set out apple orchards, currant bushes and other fruits: gradually clearing away the forest, in the course

of a few years their condition was made tolerable—at any rate they were free.

Among this community was a beautiful girl, who, agreeably to the custom of the Acadians, had been early betrothed to the youth of her choice. Their nuptials were to be celebrated at the next festival of St. Anne. In the excitement of their hasty departure, the absence of her lover was not noticed; it was not known whether he was killed or banished, or was with some other company of refugees.

Rachel did not take to her loss kindly; she brooded over his absence; her cheek became pale, and her step less buoyant. In her grief she would not listen to the words of love from other young men,—her Joseph was uppermost in her thoughts.

It chanced that a young Indian brave, noticing the maid had no lover, sought her to grace his own wigwam. The young Indian's father was chief of the tribe, and he had proved himself the friend of the white people. This chief espoused the suit of his son.

"The white squaw has no love among the pale faces," argued the dusky chieftain, "let her keep the wigwam of one of my braves."

The maid was inexorable; white and red lovers were alike spurned from her. She seemed to cling to the hope that her affianced would yet seek her out. At length the chief assumed a haughty mien. Had not her people often received favors at his hands, and were they not in his power?

This appeal touched the girl on a tender chord. What was life to her now? Yes, she would be the bride of the young brave; she would yield herself a sacrifice for her people.

Great were the preparations for the nuptials—worthy the marriage of a prince, and heir to the kingly sceptre. The young brave had embraced the Catholic belief, and had received the rite of baptism; the ceremony was to be solemnized

in accordance with that faith. The little chapel had been decorated expressly for the occasion, and the good Father, arrayed in gown and maniple, was engaged in his preparatory devotions in the chancel. Just outside the door, by the light of a huge bonfire, a party of young men and maidens, the young friends of Rachel, were dancing on the green. A little beyond, another fire had been kindled, and about this the young Indian warriors were celebrating their wedding feast. Grotesque and wild were the scenes there transpiring,—gross paganism, untutored superstition, and the solemn forms of religious rites, intermingled!

Just then a stranger entered Rachel's cottage, and asked to see her alone. They were no sooner together than the visitor threw off his disguise, and the maiden was clasped in the arms of her long-absent lover. A few words sufficed to tell his story.

He had been taken by the New England forces, and, with two hundred other captives, confined on board a vessel of little more than sixty tons burden. They were kept in the close hold, only a few being allowed on deck at one time, for fear they might attempt to take the vessel from their captors. With no other food than a small allowance of flour and pork, they endured a three-month's voyage to the city of Philadelphia. Their physical sufferings, great as they were in their crowded state, were not to be compared with the mental anguish at being separated from friends, it having pleased the English conquerors, for some unexplained cause, to add the breaking of family ties to the horrors of this cruel extirpation. One mother on board had but one of her four children with her. Of the fate of the other three, or of the subsequent fortunes of the husband and father, she never afterward had the slightest trace.—And yet hers was but the common experience.

Many of the sufferers died on the passage. The clothing of the survivors became so worn as scarcely to cover them.

An epidemic, too, broke out on shipboard, just before reaching port; but such was the horror of the authorities there against the Papists, that it was several days before they were permitted to remove from the infected atmosphere of the ship.

At Philadelphia, Joseph had found opportunity to join a number of his countrymen in some open boats, in which they proposed to return to their native land. At Boston they were stopped by the patriotic Governor, and their boats destroyed. From thence he had traveled on foot and in canoes through the forests of Maine and New Brunswick, until he reached the vicinity of his former home. In all his wanderings his purpose had been to find tidings of Rachel, but he had sought in vain. After he had nearly given up all hope, he heard of this settlement in the mountains, and had arrived just as the object of his fondest affections was about throwing herself away on a savage! But, now that he had returned, nothing should again part them.

Calling the family together the situation was made known. The Indian brave would not voluntarily give up his bride, and they knew the haughty chief would treat such a proposal as a disgrace to his tribe, and deserving of his vengeance. Their only plan was to fly. Their chance of escape was small indeed, but they would rather die than be separated.

Their preparations were soon made, and silently and secretly they fled into the dark forest, and reached their canoe moored at the little cove at our feet. In the meantime, the ceremonials had reached the point at which the bride was to come forth, and five young girls, dressed in white, with garlands about their heads, came to conduct Rachel to the chapel. The father by sundry pretexts, delayed the proceedings until the suspicions and anger of the old chief were roused, when threats of instant vengeance drew from the agonized father the fact that she had fled with her former lover.

Such a mark of ignominy as this to be cast on his son—the son of a proud Indian chief—was not to be borne. The order for immediate pursuit is given; the festivities cease, and dusky warriors are threading the forest in every direction for the fugitives. Certain death, and possibly worse torture, will follow their capture.

A wild shout announced the lovers had been discovered. The hearts of the parents sank as these sounds resounded through the moonlit forest; the anguish of the mother during the succeeding moments, while the issue of the pursuit was unknown, and the wild uproar rose and sank on the night air, was intense, defying description.

Joseph and Rachel were far out on the lake. The girl was quick with the paddle, and their canoe was rapidly speeding to the opposite shore. A sense of their situation lent supernatural strength to their arms, and they plied their oars as only those can who race for life.

The canoes of the savages were already in the water, and a score of brawny forms were urging them forward in close pursuit, while the lake echoed with terrific yells.

For awhile, the lovers managed to elude their pursuers, and successfully baffled every attempt at capture. Their strength, now, was beginning to flag under the intense and long continued strain. Gradually they had been nearing the outlet of the lake; the lovers thought if they could but reach the shadow of yonder island, they might make good their escape down the river. They soon came into the influence of the current of the stream, and had the satisfaction of perceiving their boat was being impelled rapidly forward, as they hoped, to a place of safety.

A loud shout announced they had been discovered; and the canoes of the savages poured into the river, and were gaining so fast on the fugitives that the foremost was nearly up to their boat. Twice had Joseph picked up his gun to shoot, but Rachel remonstrated by telling him it would on-

ly make their condition worse in case they were afterwards overtaken; and in any event, the savages would be certain to visit retribution on her parents.

The lovers now gave up all hope. They threw down their paddles, and, falling into each other's arms, allowed their canoe to drift. They noted not the speed at which they were going, and were in momentary expectation of being overtaken. It was not until some moments had elapsed that they became aware the savages had stopped pursuit.—The intensity of their emotions had prevented their divining the cause until a turn in the river brought the roar of the falls full upon their ears.

Under other circumstances, the sound would have terrified them; as it was they looked upon death in this form as a providential interposition. Should they try to avoid going over the falls, as they might still do, it would only prolong their lives to give the angry savages a chance to put them to death, by slow torture. "Let me but die in your arms," said the maid, "and I am content." Not a paddle was lifted to avert the danger. "May the Lord bless father, and mother, and little sister Maud," were the last words she uttered. Locked in a last embrace, they drew near the fatal brink—took their last look of earth—and the boat, with the lover and maid, disappeared from sight forever!

At each anniversary of the event, at a certain hour of the night, two ghostly forms come to this little cove, launch their canoe and paddle into the lake. Their actions indicate great haste and anxiety; their canoe floats awhile among the islands and passes into the river. As they near the rapids they drop their paddles, embrace each other, and disappear over the brink. This is done three nights in succession; then they are allowed a period of repose.

"Pierre," said I, after this narration, "I propose to lie in wait to-morrow night, and if this lover and his maid pay us another visit, I am going to see whether they are of real

flesh and blood, or whether it's only a fancy of our brains." Then, having piled a fresh quantity of fuel on the fire, we once more rolled our blankets about us and fell asleep.

It was about the bewitching hour of twelve of the night following, that Pierre and I took our places in our skiff, and moored it at the foot of the little cove where our strange visitors were to embark, leaving the dog, Carlo, to look after the camp. "This is a strange vigil we are keeping," I remarked, "watching for the spirits of the departed to revisit the earth! Here we've been waiting a full hour, and I think they intend to disappoint us. What's the matter, Carlo, what do you see?"

The dog had again set up his moaning as on the previous night, and his eyes seemed immovably fixed on the cove before us. Though we could see nothing unusual, the superior instincts of the dog enabled him to perceive that something out of the common order was prowling about our camp. A quick exclamation from the guide startled me.

There, not twenty feet away, two figures were in the act of launching a canoe. They exhibited the same undue haste as on the night before; seating themselves, they dipped their paddles into the water, and before we had recovered from our surprise, they were several yards into the lake.

"Pierre," I exclaimed, "let's overtake them, or smash an oar,"—and we bent to our work. Now gliding under the shadow of a wooded island, then darting across an open channel; now close at hand, and the next moment rods away,—sped the phantom boat and its ghostly crew. Our light skiff fairly quivered with the powerful strokes of our oars, given with the impulse that strong excitement lent us. After a half hour's hard pulling, we were fain to admit we were losers in the race, and very soon we lost sight of them altogether. We were on the point of returning to camp, when the guide, pointing in the direction of the outlet of the lake, exclaimed—

"There they are, in the river!"

"Give way! Pierre," I fairly yelled, "give way! We'll see whether real bone and sinew is not a match for anything that floats in these waters;" and sure enough, a few rapid strokes with all the force we could exert, brought us close to the strangers. I had dropped my paddle, and, turning partly around in my seat, was preparing to clutch at the occupants of the canoe, when my arm was arrested by a cry of terror from the guide.

So intent had we been on the pursuit, that neither had noticed our proximity to the falls, until we were already being urged forward by that powerful suction that sweeps everything over the brink. Pierre had discovered this, and though he said not an intelligible word, I comprehended the meaning of his cry. I instantly grasped my oar; the next moment we were doing our utmost to force the boat out of the channel toward the shore. Life and death were in the balance, and for a time, we neither gained nor lost in our battle with the ruthless current. If oar and row-lock were taxed before, it was nothing to the fight we then made for life. At last it was evident we had discovered our danger too late.

"It's no use!" exclaimed my companion, and his tones showed that he fully realized the danger we were in, "we've got to go over them falls!"

The roar of the cataract became momentarily more distinct, and trees and other objects on shore were darting by with incredible swiftness. Our faces cut the spray as with a knife, while the rapid motion of the boiling current was fast becoming more and more perceptible. Nearer and nearer we drew to the brink; I felt that Pierre was guiding the boat to where the water was smoothest—even at that moment not resigning all hope; next I saw the yawning abyss below me; then came a sense of falling, down, down—and then I lost consciousness.

When I came to myself, Pierre was bending over me. He had unaccountably gained the shore at the bottom of the falls, and had it not been for his strong arm, I should not this winter evening have been writing this story. We sat down on the river bank, in our dripping garments, and minutes elapsed before either said a word. The wildness of the place, the dim moonlight, the roar of the falls, and the well-nigh fatal ending of our adventure, for a time overpowered us. I first broke the silence.

"I wonder if any person ever went over those falls before to-night, and came out alive and unhurt?"

"Not that I ever heard of," said Pierre, "and all the world wouldn't tempt me to go through with that again." Then we threaded our way back to camp.

"Where's the dog," said I, as we came within the circle of light thrown out by the expiring camp-fire, and the faithful animal was nowhere to be seen. "I never knew him to desert a camp before, when it was left in his charge. How, what's this? Bring along one of those blazing pine knots, Pierre!"

There lay our faithful dog, covered in blood, and his flesh literally torn in shreds. He was yet alive, and a look of intelligent recognition beamed from his eyes as we bent over him. And I actually thought the noble animal tried to tell us what had happened to him while we were absent. He expired shortly in great agony; and his death caused a pang in our hearts, akin to that one experiences at the loss of a brother.

"It's a loup-garou that did that. T'ain't none of your common wild varmints; come, we musn't stay here!" And the strong man, whose face never blanched in his repeated encounters with the bear and the panther, trembled with fear as he spoke. "I tell you we've got to get out of this," and he began to gather up our traps. I perceived it would be of no use to object.

"It will never do to leave Carlo unburied," said I, for I could not free my mind from the idea that I was somehow culpably responsible for his death. "Carlo met his death at his post of duty, and he is at least deserving of Christian burial, beyond the reach of those hungry panthers."

We soon found a cleft in a rock, in which we tenderly laid the body of our faithful hound, and walled up the opening with a few heavy stones; then hastily picking up our camp-equipage—our rifles were in the river at the bottom of the falls—and taking each a brand from the camp-fire, we bade adieu to Spirit Camp. We had not gone many yards, when a terrific cry broke upon the night. Looking over our shoulders towards our late camp, from which direction the sound seemed to come, we saw a strange light among the trees, which I attributed to a reviving of the embers of our fire. But Pierre accounted for it differently.

"There's the loups-garous, coming together at our camp. It's lucky for us we got away when we did.'"

POPULAR BELIEFS.

It was on one of those fine northern Acadian twilights in the month of June—St. John's Eve, by the calendar—that Pierre and I were strolling by the river bank, inhaling the fragrance that was borne up from the apple trees in full bloom, and enjoying the cooling sea breeze that was blowing off the bay.

"What are those bonfires that I see, Pierre, at various points along the river?"

"Those are St. John's Eve fires," answered the guide.

Upon further enquiry in relation to the fires, I learned that they pertained to a custom formerly prevalent here, but which is fast dying out. The people build a pile of fragrant boughs outside the church, and as darkness sets in, the priest appears, recites the prayers, blesses the wood, and sets it on fire in the presence of the congregation. The lesser ones were signal fires, by which neighbors, living miles apart, report to each other. If all is well, a bright fire is lighted and kept burning; if sickness has visited the family, the fire flickers and dies out; if death, then the pile suddenly bursts into flame, and is as suddenly extinguished. For some time we watched the fires—some burning brightly, others slowly expiring, or quickly disappearing—and pictured to our imagination the varied experiences of joy and sorrow portrayed by this singularly impressive "fire-language."

The sojourner among these remote French hamlets will meet with the same manners, customs and modes of dress that prevailed among their ancestors a hundred years ago. Their devotedness to the forms of worship of their forefathers, and their firm faith in the miraculous events ascribed to the intercession of their patron saints, are among the most distinctive traits of the Acadian descendants: in short, the religious fervor of the French habitant has ever been a national characteristic. On April 11, 1782, says the chronicle, darkness prevailed on the Saguenay River, the heavens mourning for the death of a Jesuit, Father Jean Baptiste Labrosse, who died at Tadousac on that day. Father Labrosse was a native of Poitou. He arrived at Quebec in 1754, and for nearly thirty years preached the gospel to white men and Indians along the St. Lawrence and down in the wilds of Acadia. On the night of his death he was at the house of an officer of the trading-post at Tadousac, and, although nearly seventy years old, appeared to be as strong and hearty as a man of forty. He was tall and robust, and his long white hair and saintly face made him look every inch an apostle. At nine p. m. he rose, and in solemn tones told his friends that the hour of his death was at hand. At midnight he should die, and the church bell at Tadousac would announce the news to his Indian children, who were camped there for the spring trade in peltries and to all the Gulf. He bade the company farewell, charging them, as he left the house, to go to Ile-aux-Coudres and bring Father Compain, the curé, to give his body Christian sepulture. The party sat in silence, listening for the bells, which on the stroke of midnight began to toll. The village was aroused, and the people hurried to the chapel, and there before the altar, lay the old Jesuit, dead. They watched by the corpse until daylight, when the post officer ordered four men to take a canoe and go to Ile-aux-Coudres. A fearful storm was raging in the Gulf, and ice floes almost

choked the wide expanse of water. "Fear not," said the officer to the fishermen; "Father Labrosse will protect you." They launched the canoe, and great was their surprise to find that, while the tempest howled and the waves and the ice seethed like a caldron on each side of them, a peaceful channel was formed by some invisible hand for their craft. They reached Ile-aux-Coudres—over sixty miles as the crow flies, from Tadousac—without accident. Father Compain was standing on the cliff, and, as they neared the shore, he cried out, "Father Labrosse is dead, and you have come to take me to Tadousac to bury him!" How did he know this? The night previous he was sitting alone in his house, reading his breviary, when suddenly the bell in the church (dedicated to St. Louis) began to toll. He ran down to the church, but the doors were locked, and when he opened them he found no one within, and still the passing bell was tolling. As he approached the altar, Father Compain heard a voice saying, "Father Labrosse is dead. This bell announces his departure. To-morrow do thou stand at the lower end of the island and await the arrival of a canoe from Tadousac. Return with it and give him burial." And at all the mission posts where Father Labrosse had preached—Chicoutimi, l'Île Verte, Trois-Pistoles, Rimouski, and along the Baie-des-Chaleurs—the bells, of their own accord, rang out the death of the old Jesuit at the same hour. And for many a year, whenever the Indians of Saguenay visited Tadousac, they made a pilgrimage to his grave, and whispered to the dead within through a hole in the slab of the vault, believing that he would lay their petitions before God.

"Perhaps," said Pierre, after a silence of some minutes, "you have never heard of the strange lights of the river, *La Magdelaine*? You won't find a sailor, born in these parts, who would be caught there alone at night for all the world. There are pale blue lights and green lights play-

ing on the water, and the most doleful cries are heard there, such as you don't care to hear but once. They are not like the lights you see here, and no one knows what they are, but are supposed to be the troubled spirits of men who have been drowned among the rocks."

The folk lore of the inhabitants of the Gaspé coast is distinctive in its features. The phosphorescent glow of the water is attributed to supernatural agency, and the moaning of the surf among the hollow caverns at the base of the sea wall, is thought to be the voice of the murderer, condemned to expiate his crime on the very spot that witnessed its commission; for it is well known that the Gaspé wreckers have not always contented themselves with robbery and pillage, but have sometimes sought concealment by making way with victims—convinced that the tomb reveals no secrets. It was on these shores that Walker's fleet encountered that terrific August gale. Says the chronicle:

On the 30th of July, 1711, Sir Hovenden Walker, in command of a formidable armada, consisting of men-of-war and transports carrying troops, sailed from Nantasket Roads for Quebec, for the purpose of capturing that post, and avenging the repulse of Sir William Phipps in 1690. Paradis, master on a Rochelle gunboat that had been captured by the British frigate Chester, was put on board the flagship, Edgar, as pilot, for he knew the St. Lawrence well. A dense fog settled down upon the fleet after it left Gaspé Bay; and at ten p. m. on August 22d, "we found ourselves" writes Admiral Walker, in his Journal, "upon the North Shore, amongst rocks and islands, at least fifteen leagues farther than the log gave, when the whole fleet had like to have been lost. But by God's good providence all the men-of-war, though with extreme hazard and difficulty, escaped. Eight transports were cast away, and almost nine hundred men lost." The beach of Egg Island and the Labrador shore hard by were strewn with bodies. Two companies of Guards

who had fought under Marlborough in the Low Countries, were identified among the dead by their scarlet trappings. Mother Juchereau, in the Hotel Dieu, records in her diary that a salvage expedition, fitted out at Quebec, found two thousand corpses on Egg Island. Some said the French pilot had willfully wrecked the fleet. The clergy held that it was the work of the Blessed Virgin, and the name of the church of Notre Dame de la Victoire in the Lower Town, where Phipps's repulse was annually celebrated, was changed to Notre Dame des Victoires, to commemorate both occasions. But while the habitants doubted not the power or the beneficence of the Blessed Virgin, they ascribed the immediate causation of the wreck to Jean Pierre Lavallée of St. Francois. When it became known at Quebec that Queen Anne was fitting out the expedition, he bade the people be of good heart. When the news of the disaster reached Quebec, he said that Sir Hovendon had not drained his cup of bitterness; and sure enough, while the Admiral was on his way to London to report the disaster, the Edgar, seventy guns, blew up at Portsmouth, and all on board, 470 souls, perished.

"But what are those smaller lights I see, Pierre, down on the island, that keep moving about as if carried in the hand; are they the torches of the eel fishers?"

"No; they are the lamps of the money diggers," was the reply.

"Money diggers!" said I, "who are they?"

"Why, to be sure, that's a regular business in these parts," said Pierre. "A great many of the Neutrals buried their specie before they were carried off, and it's not an unusual thing to find buried money. Those fellows down there are searching for some of Capt. Kidd's treasures, which, it is said, were hid somewhere near Dead Man's Cove. The place is so named, because Capt. Kidd killed one of his men and buried him with the money to guard it."

"What, a dead man guarding money!" said I, "what good could a dead man do towards protecting the treasure, please tell me?"

"Why," answered he, surprised at my incredulity, "I'll tell you what happened one night over at the foot of that hill you see yonder. Three men were digging for a pot of Spanish dollars, that a fortune-teller said was buried there. They worked like beavers for three nights, when, about one o'clock of the third night, their shovels struck something they found to be the lid of a stone crock. They lifted up the cover, and there, sure enough, were the shining pieces, filling the crock clear up to the top. The night was clear and calm, without a cloud to be seen. While they were digging a little deeper so as to take out crock and all, the shovel struck a human skull. And such a flash of lightning and peal of thunder as then came forth they never saw or heard before. The wind, too, began to blow a hurricane, and overset their lantern and blew out the light, at the same time knocking over the man who held it. This so scared them that they took to their heels. On coming back the next morning, they could see where the crock had been taken out, but saw nothing of it or the money. That crock was put there by pirates, and was guarded by the man they killed and buried with it, and he made it lighten and thunder to keep them from carrying off the money."

"Is there no way to exorcise the spirit of the watcher, so as to get at the treasure?" enquired I.

"Yes, there are some that know how, or at least pretend they do. They say, if one of the party that's digging gets killed, then the spell is broken; but they don't often try that plan. The usual way is for the company to take with them one who understands how to manage the watcher so as to get at the money."

"But you say they often do find money buried about here?"

"Yes, that is where the money is buried alone. We often hear of Frenchmen coming back who go to digging, and nearly always find money. They have charts and mineral rods with them, to show where to dig. I've heard say they sometimes have Spanish needles, but I never saw one. The needles are much better than the rods, for they tell specie from ore, and the rods do not. Some years ago two Frenchmen came to my father's and asked to stay all night. We offered them a nice bed in the house, but in spite of all we could say and do, they would sleep in the barn. The next morning early we went out, when nothing was to be seen of the Frenchmen. But we picked up two Spanish dollars that they dropped on the floor. This set us to looking, and we found that the plate over the great doors had been hollowed out, and a board nicely fitted as a cover; in this hollow the money had been secreted for years. I once heard of a company that engaged with a land-holder on Campobello Island, to dig for buried money, agreeing to pay him a certain part of all the money they found. The first summer they worked several months without success; the next season they came again, and again went away empty-handed. Not yet discouraged, they went to work again the third summer. One day the owner thought he would go down to where they were digging, and was surprised to find no one there. They had all deserted the place, taking their tools with them. Upon examination he discovered they had found the money, and had secretly made off with it without paying him his share."

"I presume you have numerous instances among you, of people becoming suddenly rich, who have luckily hit upon the hiding place of buried treasure," said I.

"Yes, but they oftener get rich from stripping wrecks after a storm; but that's a business that can't be followed like it used to be. That house you see beyond those trees, why, its owner got rich in a single night, but he never would

say how he came by the money. I'll wager I wouldn't take it and have that man's conscience to carry with me as long as I lived. I've a mind to tell you the story of a sea captain who made lots of money; he afterward got found out and had to leave the country. It has already been in print, but then it's none the worse for that. It is one of the bloody stories of Sable Island, about which so many are told."

Sable Island, rendered memorable by reason of numberless melancholy shipwrecks, lies directly in the track of vessels bound to or from Europe. Lying low in the water, partially clad with bent grass, it is not easily distinguished from the deep green of the surrounding sea. Its surface and contour is continually undergoing a change, from the combined action of wind and wave:—the spot where the first superintendent dwelt is now more than three miles in the sea, and three fathoms of water break upon it. Those who have not personally witnessed the effect of a storm upon this lonely isle in mid-ocean, can form no adequate idea of its horrors. The reverberated thunder of the sea when it strikes this attenuated line of sand, on a front of thirty miles, is truly appalling; and the vibration of the island under its mighty pressure, seems to indicate that it will separate and be borne away into the ocean.

The whole of the south end is covered with timber, which has been torn from wrecks and driven on shore by the violence of the sea. At the two extremities are dangerous bars: the northwest bar sixteen miles long and a mile and a half in width, over the whole of which the sea breaks in bad weather; that on the northeast of equal width and twenty-eight miles long, which, in storms, forms one continuous line of breakers.

Herds of wild horses roam over the island, a few of which are taken every year and sent to Halifax. Years ago it supported hundreds of wild hogs—the progeny, no doubt, of

swine cast ashore from some wrecked vessel; these all perished during an unusually severe winter. It has not been thought advisable to renew this species of stock, in view of the fact that not only have human bodies formed an article of their food, but many living persons, weak and helpless from cold and exposure, have often escaped from wrecks only to be devoured alive by these fierce brutes.

A boat runs once a year between the island and Halifax, chartered by the Canadian government to carry provisions and stores to the lighthouse people and patrols, and bring away people who may have been wrecked there during the previous year. As many as three hundred people have been on the island at one time—cast upon those lonely sands by marine disaster. It was found necessary to bring into requisition the strong arm of the government to protect the wrecks from persons who went there for the purpose of plundering;—it was made a criminal offense with a penalty of six years' imprisonment, to be found voluntarily residing on the island without a license.

“Should any one be visiting the island now, he might first discern, at a few miles distance, a half-dozen low hummocks on the horizon. On his approach these gradually resolve themselves into hills fringed by breakers, next the white sea-beach with its continued surf,—the sand-hills, part naked, part waving in grass of deep sea green, unfold themselves,—while here and there along the wild beach lie the ribs of unlucky traders half buried in the shifting sand.—The first thing the visitor does is to mount the flag-staff and scan the scene. The ocean bounds him everywhere. On the foreground the outpost men are seen galloping their rough ponies into headquarters, recalled by the flag flying over his head. The West-end house of refuge, with bread and matches, firewood and kettle, and also with its flag-staff, occupies an adjoining hill. Every sandy peak or grassy knoll with a dead man's name or an old ship's tradition:—

Trott's Cove, Baker's Hill, French Gardens,—traditional spot where the poor convicts expiated their social crimes—the little burying-ground consecrated to the repose of many a sea-tossed limb,—and at various points down the lake, other lookout stations, each with its house of refuge and flag-staff, complete the view.”

Some less than a century ago, this lone waif of the ocean was much resorted to by fishermen. With the increase of commerce came a corresponding increase of wrecks; it was at this period that the cupidity of men of infamous character was excited, and numbers of pirates and wreckers infested the island. Few who survived shipwreck and escaped to its inhospitable shores, ever lived to bear their story to the mainland. Soon dark stories were being circulated of horrible deeds there committed, and Sable Island became an ill-omened name. Many an adventurer embarked on a clandestine voyage, and returned not long after to exhibit untold wealth. Here, secure from the reach of the law, and protected by the very elements that brought the unfortunate wrecks into their power, these human ghouls plied their calling with immense success.

Many years ago the *Amelia* Transport was wrecked on these shores. The vessel conveyed some members of the royal family, and was represented as having on board considerable treasure. The talk got abroad that the passengers and crew fell into the hands of pirates, and all that escaped drowning were murdered. Captain Torrens was sent to enquire into the truth of the reports, and he too suffered shipwreck on the coast, escaping with only a part of his crew. While looking about the island he came to a shanty known as the “smoky hut.” His dog began to growl and bark as though he saw something in the hut; on looking within, he beheld a lady clad in white, all wet and dripping as if she had just been rolled ashore in the surf. The Captain spoke to her: she answered not a word but held up

the bleeding stump of her fore-finger. He ran for the surgeon's chest, and went up to her to bind up her wound; but she slipped past him and ran out of the door, the Captain following and begging her to stop. She kept on running until she came to a lake in the center of the island, when she dove head foremost into it. So he walked slowly back; and coming near the hut, he saw the same lady again within, holding up her finger as before.

Looking awhile at her pale, wet face, the Captain thought he recognized her features as one whom he supposed to be drowned on the Transport, and he began to question her.

"Is that you, Lady Copeland?" said he. The lady bowed "Yes," and then held up her finger.

"And the pirates murdered you to get that ring!" Once more the lady bowed "Yes," again holding up the bleeding stump. Then the Captain swore he would hunt the villains out, and return the ring to her family. This seemed to please her, for she smiled, and disappeared into the lake as before.

The Captain was good as his word. He tracked one of the most noted pirates down to the coast of Labrador, made the acquaintance of his wife and family, and without exciting any suspicion as to his purpose, learned that the diamond ring had been left at a watchmaker's shop in Halifax to be sold. He went to Halifax, purchased the ring, and sent it home to the lady's friends, as he had promised to do.

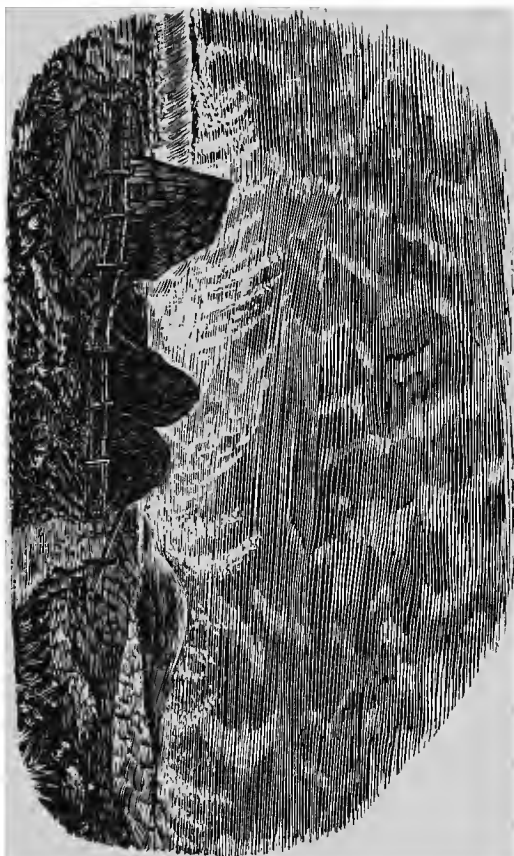
APPENDIX.

Messrs. Apthorp & Hancock to Francis Peirey, Dr.			
To hire of Sloop Ranger, myself master, from			
20th August 1755 to the 30th January,			
1756, including 10 days for his return, is			
5 months 10 days, at £48 10 8 p. month.			
Pilott 60s. pr. month.			£258 16 10
			16 0 0
			<hr/>
			274 16 10
To cash pd. for provisions at Maryland, to supply			
208 French persons, after the provisions			
recd. from Mr. Saul were expended vizt.			
Flour	59	3 2	at 14s. £41 16 8
Bread	20	0 22	at 18s. 18 3 8
Beef	12	1 9	at 20s. 12 6 3
Pork	6	1 19	at 20s. 6 8 4
Wood	3	Cord	at 14s. 2 2 0
pd. Horse hire & expenses to go to the			
Governor when sent for			
			4 0 0
			<hr/>
			84 16 11
Deduct 20 p. cent			
			16 19 3
			<hr/>
			67 17 8
To the passages of 81 persons more than the			
Complement, of 2 to ton at 4s. 6d.			
			18 4 6
			<hr/>
FRANCIS PEIREY.			£360 19 0

[The above is a truthful transcript of a bill, copied from the Nova Scotia Archives, which relates to the transportation of the Neutral French from the Province. We give it

a place here as it seems to confirm the assertion made by the Neutrals that they were crowded into the vessels in a cruel and barbarous manner. The sloop, *Ranger*, as shown in the bill, had on board 208 persons, which was 81 more than her complement of 2 persons to a ton. Deducting the 81, we find her allotted complement to be 127, which would make the *Ranger* to be a small sloop of little more than sixty tons burden. By directions of Governor Lawrence, they were to be confined in the holds of the vessels, lest they should seize an opportunity to overpower the crew. Those who are familiar with the measurement of vessels will readily understand whether the dictates of humanity were consulted in this forced embarkation of the sufferers, or whether the fearful mortality, which in a few weeks reduced their numbers to one-half, was more than might have been expected.]

HIGH TIDE.



PETITION OF THE NEUTRALS TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

To his most excellent Majesty, King of Great Britain, &c.,
&c.

The humble petition of his subjects, the late French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, formerly settled on the Bay of Minas, and rivers thereunto belonging; now residing in the Province of Pennsylvania, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the late inhabitants of the said bay, and also of those formerly settled on the River of Annapolis Royal, wheresoever dispersed. May it please your Majesty,

It is not in our power sufficiently to trace back the conditions upon which our ancestors first settled in Nova Scotia, under the protection of your Majesty's predecessors, as the greatest part of our elders who were acquainted with these transactions are dead; but more especially because our papers, which contained our contracts, records, &c., were, by violence, taken from us some time before the unhappy catastrophe which has been the occasion of the calamities we are now under; but we always understood the foundation thereof to be from an agreement made between your Majesty's commanders in Nova Scotia, and our forefathers, about the year 1713, whereby they were permitted to remain in possession of their lands, under an oath of fidelity to the British government, with an exemption from bearing arms, and the allowance of the free exercise of their religion.

It is a matter of certainty, (and within the compass of some of our memories,) that in the year 1730, General Phillips, the Governor of Nova Scotia, did, in your Majesty's name, confirm unto us, and all the inhabitants of the whole extent of the Bay of Minas and rivers thereunto belonging,

the free and entire possession of those lands we were then possessed of; which by grants from the former French government, we held to us and our heirs forever, on paying the customary quit-rents, &c. And on condition that we should behave with due submission and fidelity to your Majesty, agreeable to the oath which was then administered to us, which is as follows, viz.:

"We sincerely promise and swear, by the faith of a Christian, that we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to his Majesty King George, whom we acknowledge as Sovereign Lord of New Scotland, or Acadia; so God help us."

And at the same time, the said General Phillips did, in like manner, promise the said French inhabitants, in your Majesty's name, "That they should have the true exercise of their religion, and be exempted from bearing arms, and from being employed in war, either against the French or Indians." Under the sanction of this solemn engagement we held our lands, made further purchases, annually paying our quit-rents, &c.; and we had the greatest reason to conclude, that your Majesty did not disapprove of the above agreement: and that our conduct continued, during a long course of years, to be such as recommended us to your gracious protection, and to the regard of the Governor of New England, appears from a printed declaration, made seventeen years after this time, by his Excellency William Shirley, Governor of New England, which was published and dispersed in our country, some originals of which have escaped from the general destruction of most of our papers, part of which is as follows:

By his Majesty's command,

A declaration of William Shirley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, &c.

To his Majesty's subjects, the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia: Whereas, upon being informed that a report had been propagated among the French inhabitants of his Province of Nova Scotia, that there was an intention to remove them from their settlements in that Province, I did, by my declaration, dated 16th September, 1746, signify to them that the same was groundless, and that I was, on the contrary, persuaded that His Majesty would be graciously

pleased to extend his royal protection, to all such of them as should continue in their fidelity and allegiance to him, and in no wise abet or hold correspondence with the enemies of his crown; and therein assured them, that I would make a favorable representation of their state and circumstances to His Majesty, and did accordingly transmit a representation thereof to be laid before him, and have thereupon received his royal pleasure, touching his aforesaid subjects in Nova Scotia, with his express commands to signify the same to them in his name: Now, by virtue thereof, and in obedience to said orders, I do hereby declare, in his Majesty's name, that there is not the least foundation for any apprehensions of his Majesty's intending to remove them, the said inhabitants of Nova Scotia, from their said settlements and habitations within the said Province; but that, on the contrary, it is his Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of them as have adhered to and shall continue in their duty and allegiance to him, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their respective habitations and settlements, and in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as his subjects, &c., &c.

Dated at Boston, Oct. 21st, 1747.

And this is farther confirmed by a letter, dated 29th of June in the same year, wrote to our deputies by Mr. Mascarene, chief commander in Nova Scotia, which refers to Governor Shirley's first declaration, of which we have a copy, legally authenticated, part of which is as follows, viz.:

"As to the fear you say you labor under, on account of being threatened to be made to evacuate the country, you have in possession his Excellency William Shirley's printed letter, whereby you may be made easy in that respect: you are sensible of the promise I have made to you, the effects of which you have already felt, that I would protect you so long as, by your good conduct and fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain, you would enable me to do so, which promise I do again repeat to you."

Near the time of the publication of the before-mentioned declaration, it was required that our deputies should, on behalf of all the people, renew the oath formerly taken to General Phillips, which was done without any mention of bearing arms—and we can with truth say, that we are not sensible of any alteration in our disposition or conduct, since

that time, but that we always continued to retain a grateful regard to your Majesty and your government, notwithstanding which, we have found ourselves surrounded with difficulties unknown to us before. Your Majesty determined to fortify our Province and settle Halifax; which the French looking upon with jealousy, they made frequent incursions through our country, in order to annoy that settlement, whereby we came exposed to many straits and hardships; yet, from the obligations we were under, from the oath we had taken, we were never under any doubt, but that it was our indispensable duty and interest, to remain true to your government and our oath of fidelity, hoping that in time those difficulties would be removed, and we should see peace and tranquillity restored: and if, from the change of affairs in Nova Scotia your Majesty had thought it not consistent with the safety of your said Province, to let us remain there upon the terms promised us by your Governors, in your Majesty's name, we should doubtless have acquiesced with any other reasonable proposal which might have been made to us, consistent with the safety of our aged parents, and tender wives and children: and we are persuaded, if that had been the case, wherever we had retired, we should have held ourselves under the strongest obligations of gratitude, from a thankful remembrance of the happiness we had enjoyed under your Majesty's administration and gracious protection. About the same time of the settlement of Halifax, General Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, did require that we should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption before allowed us, of not bearing arms; but this we absolutely refused, as being an infringement of the principal condition upon which our forefathers agreed to settle under the British government.

And we acquainted Governor Cornwallis, that if your Majesty was not willing to continue that exemption to us, we desired liberty to evacuate the country, proposing to settle on the Island of St. John, [now known as Prince Edward Island,] where the French Government was willing to let us have land; which proposal he at that time refused to consent to, but told us he would acquaint your Majesty therewith, and return to us an answer. But we never received an answer, nor was any proposal of that made to us until we were made prisoners.

After the settlement of Halifax, we suffered many abuses and insults from your Majesty's enemies, more especially from the Indians in the interest of the French, by whom our cattle were killed, our houses pillaged, and many of us personally abused and put in fear of our lives, and some even carried away prisoners towards Canada, solely on account of our resolution steadily to maintain our oath of fidelity to the English Government: particularly René Le Blanc (our public notary), was taken prisoner by the Indians when actually traveling in your Majesty's service, his house pillaged, and himself carried to the French fort, from whence he did not recover his liberty, but with great difficulty, after four years captivity.

We were likewise obliged to comply with the demand of the enemy, made for provision, cattle, &c., upon pain of military execution, which we had reason to believe the Government was made sensible was not an act of choice on our part, but of necessity, as those in authority appeared to take in good part the representations we always made to them after anything of that nature had happened.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties we thus labored under, yet we dare appeal to the several Governors, both at Halifax and Annapolis Royal, for testimonies of our being always ready and willing to obey their orders, and give all the assistance in our power, either in furnishing provisions and materials, or making roads, building forts. &c., agreeable to your Majesty's orders, and our oath of fidelity, whenever called upon, or required thereunto.

It was also our constant care to give notice to your Majesty's commanders, of the danger they from time to time have been exposed to by the enemy's troops, and had the intelligence we gave been always attended to, many lives might have been spared, particularly in the unhappy affair which befell Major Noble and his brother at Grand Pré; when they, with great numbers of their men, were cut off by the enemy, notwithstanding the frequent advices we had given them of the danger they were in; and yet we have been very unjustly accused, as parties in that massacre.

And although we have been thus anxiously concerned, to manifest our fidelity in these several respects, yet it has been falsely insinuated, that it had been our general practice to abet and support your Majesty's enemies; but we trust that

your Majesty will not suffer suspicions and accusations to be received as proofs sufficient to reduce some thousands of innocent people, from the most happy situation to a state of the greatest distress and misery! No, this was far from our thoughts; we esteemed our situation so happy as by no means to desire a change. We have always desired, and again desire that we may be permitted to answer our accusers in a judicial way. In the meantime permit us, Sir, here solemnly to declare, that these accusations are utterly false and groundless, so far as they concern us as a collective body of people. It hath been always our desire to live as our fathers have done, as faithful subjects under your Majesty's royal protection, with an unfeigned resolution to maintain our oath of fidelity to the utmost of our power. Yet it cannot be expected, but that amongst us, as well as amongst other people, there have been some weak and false-hearted persons, susceptible of being bribed by the enemy so as to break the oath of fidelity. Twelve of these were outlawed in Governor Shirley's proclamation before mentioned; but it will be found that the number of such false-hearted men amongst us were very few, considering our situation, the number of our inhabitants, and how we stood circumstanced in several respects; and it may easily be made appear, that it was the constant care of our deputies to prevent and put a stop to such wicked conduct, when it came to their knowledge.

We understood that the aid granted to the French by the inhabitants of Chignecto, has been used as an argument to accelerate our ruin; but we trust that your Majesty will not permit the innocent to be involved with the guilty; no consequence can be justly drawn, that, because those people yielded to the threats and persuasions of the enemy, we should do the same. They were situated so far from Halifax, as to be in a great measure out of the protection of the English Government, which was not our case; we were separated from them by sixty miles of uncultivated land, and had no other connection with them, than what is usual with neighbors at such a distance; and we can truly say, we looked on their defection from your Majesty's interest with great pain and anxiety. Nevertheless, not long before our being made prisoners, the house in which we kept our contracts, records, deeds, &c., was invested with an armed force,

and all our papers violently carried away, none of which have to this day been returned to us, whereby we are in a great measure deprived of means of making our innocence and justness of our complaints appear in their true light.

Upon our sending a remonstrance to the Governor and Council, of the violence that had been offered us by the seizure of our papers, and the groundless fears the Government appeared to be under on our account, by their taking away our arms, no answer was returned to us; but those who had signed the remonstrance, and some time after sixty more, in all about eighty of our elders, were summoned to appear before the Governor and Council, which they immediately complied with; and it was required of them that they should take the oath of allegiance, without the exemption, which, during a course of near fifty years, had been granted to us and to our fathers, of not being obliged to bear arms, and which was the principal condition upon which our ancestors agreed to remain in Nova Scotia, when the rest of the French inhabitants evacuated the country: which, as it was contrary to our inclination and judgment, we thought ourselves engaged in duty absolutely to refuse. Nevertheless, we freely offered, and would gladly have renewed, our oath of fidelity, but this was not accepted of, and we were all immediately made prisoners, and were told by the Governor, that our estates, both real and personal, were forfeited for your Majesty's use. As to those who remained at home, they were summoned to appear before the Commanders in the forts, which, we showing some fear to comply with, on the account of the seizure of our papers, and imprisonment of so many of our elders, we had the greatest assurance given us, that there was no other design, but to make us renew our former oath of fidelity: yet as soon as we were within the fort, the same judgment was passed on us, as had been passed on our brethren at Halifax, and we were also made prisoners.

Thus, notwithstanding the solemn grants made to our fathers by General Phillips, and the declaration made by Governor Shirley and Mr. Mascarene, in your Majesty's name, that it was your Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of us as should continue in their duty and allegiance to your Majesty, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their settlements, and the enjoyment of all their

rights and privileges, as your Majesty's subjects; we found ourselves at once deprived of our estates and liberties, without any judicial process, or even without any accusers appearing against us, and this solely grounded on mistaken jealousies and false suspicions that we are inclinable to to take part with your Majesty's enemies. But we again declare that that accusation is groundless: it was always our fixed resolution to maintain, to the utmost of our power, the oath of fidelity which we had taken, not only from a sense of indispensable duty, but also because we were well satisfied with our situation under your Majesty's Government and protection, and did not think it could be bettered by any change which could be proposed to us. It has also been falsely insinuated that we held the opinion that we might be absolved from our oath so as to break it with impunity; but this we likewise solemnly declare to be a false accusation, and which we plainly evinced, by our exposing ourselves to so great losses and sufferings, rather than take the oath proposed to the Governor and Council, because we apprehended we could not in conscience comply therewith.

Thus we, our ancient parents and grand parents, (men of great integrity and approved fidelity to your Majesty,) and our innocent wives and children, became the unhappy victims to those groundless fears: we were transported into the English Colonies, and this was done in so much haste, and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that from the most social enjoyments and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life: parents were separated from children, and husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessities, especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives. And even those amongst us who had suffered deeply from your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to your Majesty's Government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which René Le Blanc, the notary public before mentioned, is a remarkable instance. He was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people, *and his*

family, consisting of twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grand children, were scattered in different Colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than any of us, notwithstanding his many years' labor and deep sufferings for your Majesty's service.

The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced for a livelihood to toil and hard labor in a southern clime, so disagreeable to our constitutions, that most of us have been prevented, by sickness, from procuring the necessary subsistence for our families; and therefore are threatened with that which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers, and exposed to contagious distempers unknown in our native country.

This, compared with the affluence and ease we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen in this Province of Pennsylvania two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but your Majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress: We therefore hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially enquired into, and that your Majesty would please to grant us such relief, as in your justice and clemency you will think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray.

[This memorial had not the effect of procuring them any redress, and they were left to undergo their punishment in exile, and to mingle with the population among whom they were distributed, in the hope that in time, their language, predilections, and even the recollection of their origin, would be lost amidst the mass of English people, with whom they were incorporated.*—*Haliburton.*]

* See page 216, foot note.

A relation of the misfortunes of the French Neutrals, as laid before the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, by John Baptist Galerm, one of the said people.

About the year 1713, when Annapolis Royal was taken from the French, our Fathers being then settled on the Bay of Fundi, upon the surrender of that country to the English, had, by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, a year granted them to remove with their effects; but not being willing to lose the fruits of so many years labor, they chose rather to remain there, and become the subjects of Great Britain, on condition that they might be exempted from bearing arms against France (most of them having near relations and friends amongst the French, which they might have destroyed with their own hands, had they consented to bear arms against them). This request they always understood to be granted, on their taking the Oath of Fidelity to her late Majesty, Queen Anne; which Oath of Fidelity was by us, about 27 years ago, renewed to his Majesty, King George, by General Philipse,* who then allowed us an exemption from bearing arms against France; which exemption, till lately, (that we were told to the contrary) we always thought was approved by the King. Our Oath of Fidelity, we that are now brought into this Province, as well as those of our community that are carried into neighboring provinces, have always inviolably observed, and have, on all occasions, been willing to afford all the assistance in our power to his Majesty's Governors in erecting forts, making roads, bridges, &c., and providing provisions for his Majesty's service, as can be testified by the several governors and officers that have commanded in his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia; and this, notwithstanding the repeated solici-

*See pp. 117, 118.

itations, threats, and abuses,* which we have continually, more or less, suffered from the French and Indians of Canada on that account, particularly about ten years ago, when 500 French and Indians came to our settlements, intending to attack Annapolis Royal, which, had their intention succeeded, would have made them masters of all Nova Scotia, it being the only place of strength then in that Province, they earnestly solicited us to join with, and aid them therein ; but we persisting in our resolution to abide true to our Oath of Fidelity, and absolutely refusing to give them any assistance,† they gave over their intention, and returned to Canada. And about seven years past, at the settling of Halifax, a body of 150 Indians came amongst us, forced some of us from our habitations, and by threats and blows would have compelled us to assist them in way-laying and destroying the English then employed in erecting forts in different parts of the country ; but positively refusing, they left us, after having abused us, and made great havoc of our cattle, &c. I myself was six weeks before I wholly recovered of the blows received at that time. Almost numberless are the instances which might be given of the abuses and losses we have undergone from the French Indians, on account of our steady adherence to our Oath of Fidelity ; and yet, notwithstanding our strict observance thereof, we have not been able to prevent the grievous calamity which is now come upon us, and which we apprehend to be in great measure owing to the unhappy situation and conduct of some of our people settled at Chignecto, at the bottom of the Bay of Fundi, where the French, about four years ago, erected a fort ; those of our people who were settled near it, after having had many of their settlements burnt by the French, being too far from Halifax and Port Royal to expect sufficient assistance from the English, were obliged, as we believe, more through compulsion and fear than inclination, to join with and assist the French ; which also appears from the Articles of Capitulation agreed on between Colonel Monckton and the French Commander, at the delivery of the said fort to the English, which is exactly in the following words :

“With regard to the Acadians, as they have been forced

* See pp. 124, 125.

† See foot-notes on pp. 167, 169, 194.

to take up arms on pain of death, they shall be pardoned for the part they have been taking."*

Notwithstanding this, as these people's conduct had given just umbrage to the Government, and created suspicions to the prejudice of our whole community, we were summoned to appear before the Governor and Council at Halifax, where we were required to take the Oath of Allegiance, without any exception, which we could not comply with, because, as that Government is at present situate, we apprehend we should have been obliged to take up arms; but were still willing to take the Oath of Fidelity, and give the strongest assurances of continuing peaceable and faithful to his Britannic Majesty, with that exception. But this, in the present situation of affairs, not being satisfactory, we were made prisoners, and our estates, both real and personal, forfeited for the King's use; and vessels being provided, we were some time after sent off, with most of our families, and dispersed among the English Colonies. The hurry and confusion in which we were embarked was an aggravating circumstance attending our misfortunes; for thereby many, who had lived in affluence, found themselves deprived of every necessary and many families were separated, parents from children, and children from parents.† Yet blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and we have in every respect been received with Christian benevolence and charity. And let me add, that notwithstanding the suspicions and fears which many are possessed of on our account, as though we were a dangerous people, who make little scruple of breaking our Oaths, time will manifest that we are not such a people: No, the unhappy situation which we are now in, is a plain evidence that this is a false charge, tending to aggravate the misfortunes of an already too unhappy people; for, had we entertained such pernicious sentiments, we might easily have prevented our falling into the melancholy circumstances we are now in, viz.: deprived of our substance, banished from our native country, and reduced to live by charity in a strange land; and this for refusing to take an Oath, which Christianity absolutely forbids us to violate, had we once taken it, and yet an Oath which we could not comply with,

* See pp. 164 165.

† See pp. 207, 208.

without being exposed to plunge our swords in the breasts of our friends and relations. We shall, however, as we have hitherto done, submit to what, in the present situation of affairs, may seem necessary, and with patience and resignation bear whatever God, in the course of his Providence, shall suffer to come upon us. We shall also think it our duty to seek and promote the peace of the country into which we are transported, and inviolably keep the Oath of Fidelity that we have taken to his gracious Majesty, King George, whom we firmly believe, when fully acquainted with our faithfulness and sufferings, will commiserate our unhappy condition, and order that some compensation be made to us for our losses. And may the Almighty abundantly bless his Honor, the Governor, the honorable Assembly of the Province, and the good people of Philadelphia, whose sympathy, benevolence and Christian charity, have been, and still are, greatly manifested and extended toward us, a poor distressed and afflicted people, is the sincere and earnest prayer of

JOHN BAPTISTE GALERM.

THE END.

